PARADISE LOST.

A

POEM,

IN

TWELVE BOOKS.

The AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.

THE NINTH EDITION,

With NOTES of various AUTHORS,

By *THOMAS NEWTON*, D. D.

Late Lord Biſhop of BRISTOL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

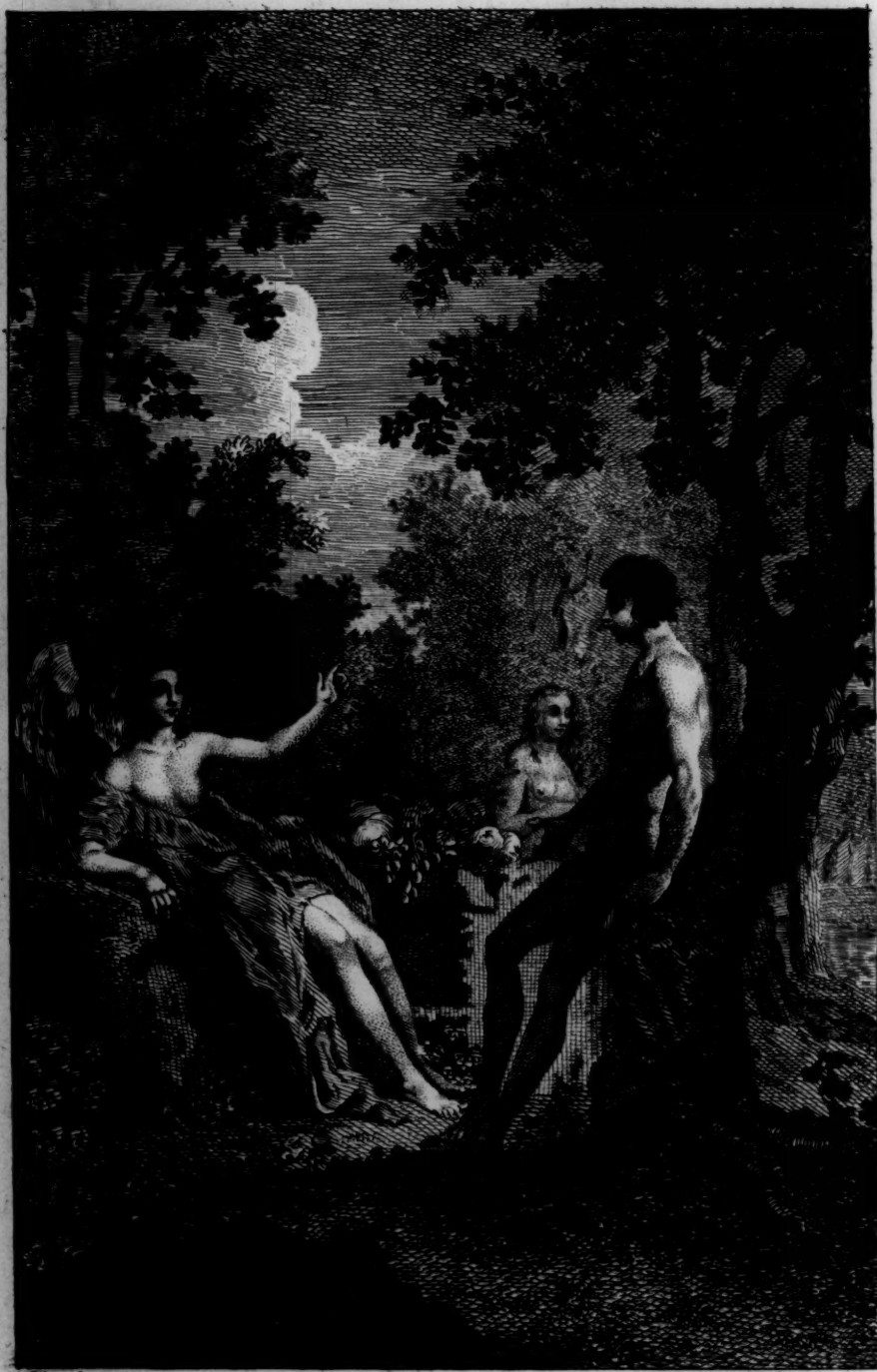
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Book 7.

THE

SEVENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael at the requeſt of Adam relates how and wherefore this world was firſt created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleaſure to create another world and other creatures to dwell therein; ſends his Son with glory and attendence of Angels to perform the work of creation in ſix days: the Angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his reaſcenſion into Heaven.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VII.

DEſcend from Heav'n, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whoſe voice divine
Following, above th' Olympian hill I ſoar,
Above the flight of Pegaſéan wing.
The meaning, not the name I call: for thou
Nor

1. *Deſcend from Heav'n, Urania,*] Deſcende cœlo, Hor. Od. III. IV. 1. but here it is better apply'd, as now his ſubject leads him from Heaven to Earth. The word *Urania* in Greek ſignifies *heav'nly*; and he invokes the *heav'nly Muſe* as he had done before, I. 6. and as he had ſaid in the beginning that he *intended to ſoar above th' Aonian mount*, ſo now he ſays very truly that he had effected what he intended, and *ſoars above th' Olympian hill, above the flight of Pegaſéan wing*, that is his ſubject was more ſublime than the loftieſt flights of the Heathen poets. Dr. Bentley propoſes *Parnaſſus* inſtead of *Olympus*, but the mountain Olympus is likewiſe celebrated for the ſeat of the Muſes, who were therefore called Olympiades, as in Homer, Iliad. II. 491. Ολυμπιαδες Μουσαι. And ſome would read *cold* Olympus, as in I. 516.

——On the ſnowy top
Of *cold* Olympus——

and *ſnowy* is an epithet often given to this mountain by the ancient poets: but he calls it *old*, that is fam'd of old and long celebrated, as he ſays *old Euphrates*, I. 420. and *mount Caſius old*, II. 593. His heavenly Muſe was before the hills, which were from the beginning, as it follows.

5. —*for thou*
Nor of the Muſes nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'ſt, but heav'nly born,] Taſſo in his invocation has the ſame ſentiment. Gier. Lib. Cant. 1. St. 2.

O Muſa, tu, che di caduchi allori
Non circondi la fronte *in Helicona*;
Ma sù nel cielo infra i beauti chori
Hai di ſtelle immortali aurea corona. *Thyer.*

Nor of the Muſes nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'ſt, but heav'nly born,
Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
Thou with eternal Wiſdom didſt converſe,
Wiſdom thy ſiſter, and with her didſt play
In preſence of th' almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy celeſtial ſong. Up led by thee
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have preſum'd,

An

8. *Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,* &c.] From Prov. VIII. 24, 25, 30. *When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water: Before the mountains were ſettled, before the hills was I brought forth: Then was I by him as one brought up with him; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him,* or *playing* according to the Vulgar Latin (ludens coram eo omni tempore) to which Milton alludes, when he ſays *and with her didſt play* &c. And ſo he quotes it likewiſe in his Tetrachordon, p. 222. Vol. I. Edit. 1738. "God himſelf conceals "not his own recreations before the "world was built; *I was,* ſaith the "eternal Wiſdom, *daily his delight,* "*playing always before him.*"

14.—*and drawn empyreal air,*
Thy temp'ring;] Dr. Bentley makes himſelf very merry in his inſulting manner, with the word *temp'ring,* and calls it the printer's blunder; but I think the following application of it in Spenſer may juſtify both printer and poet, Faery Queen, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 39.

Thus fairly ſhe *attempered* her feaſt,
And pleas'd them all with meet ſatiety.

I agree with the Doctor that *thee* is better than *thy temp'ring.* Thyer.

15. *Thy temp'ring;*] This is ſaid in alluſion to the difficulty of reſpiration on high mountains. This *empyreal air* was too pure and fine for him, but the heavenly Muſe *temper'd* and qualify'd it ſo as to make him capable of breathing in it: which is a modeſt and beautiful way of beſpeaking his reader to make favorable allowances for any failings he may have been guilty of in treating of ſo ſublime a ſubject.

17. —— (*as once*
Bellerophon, &c.] *Bellerophon* was a beautiful and valiant youth, ſon of Glaucus; who refuſing the amorous applications of Antea wife of Prætus king of Argos, was by her falſe ſuggeſtions like thoſe of Joſeph's miſtreſs to her huſband,

ſent

An earthly gueſt, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy temp'ring; with like ſafety guided down
Return me to my native element:
Leſt from this flying ſteed unrein'd, (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime)
Diſmounted, on th' Aleian field I fall
Erroneous there to wander and forlorn.
Half yet remains unſung, but narrower bound
Within

ſent into Lycia with letters deſiring his deſtruction; where he was put on ſeveral enterpriſes full of hazard, in which however he came off conqueror: but attempting vain-glorioufly to mount up to Heaven, on the winged horſe Pegaſus, he fell and wander'd in the *Aleian* plains till he died. *Hume* and *Richardſon.*

His ſtory is related at large in the ſixth book of Homer's Iliad; but it is to the latter part of it that Milton chiefly alludes, ver. 200. &c.

Αλλ' ὁτε δη κακεινον απηχθετο πασι θεοισιν,
Ητοι ὁ καππεδιον το Αληιον οιον αλαλο,
Ον θυμον κατεδων, κατα ον ανθρωπων ατειβων.

But when at laſt, diſtracted in his mind,
Forſook by Heav'n, forſaking human kind,
Wide o'er the Aleian field he choſe to ſtray,
A long, forlorn, uncomfortable way. Pope.

It is thus tranſlated by Cicero in his third book of Tuſculan Diſputations.

Qui miſer in campis mœrens errabat Aleis,
Ipſe ſuum cor edens, hominum veſtigia vitans.

The plain truth of the ſtory ſeems to be, that in his latter days he grew mad with his poetry, which Milton begs may never be his own caſe: *Leſt from this flying ſteed* &c. He ſays *this* to diſtinguiſh his from the common Pegaſus, *above the flight of whoſe wing he ſoared*, as he ſpeaks, ver. 4.

21. *Half yet remains unſung,*] I underſtand this with Mr. Richardſon, that 'tis the half of the epiſode, not of the whole work, that is here meant; for when the poem was divided into but ten books, that edition had this paſſage at the beginning of the ſeventh as now. The epiſode has two principal parts, the war in Heaven, and the new creation; the one was ſung, but the other remained unſung, and he is now entering upon it—*but narrower*

Within the viſible diurnal ſphere;
Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
More ſafe I ſing with mortal voice, unchang'd
To hoarſe or mute, though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkneſs, and with dangers compaſs'd round,
And ſolitude; yet not alone, while thou
Viſit'ſt my ſlumbers nightly, or when morn
Purples the eaſt: ſtill govern thou my ſong,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few,

But

bound. *Bound* here ſeems to be a participle as well as *unſung*. Half yet remains unſung; but this other half is not rapt ſo much into the inviſible world as the former, it is confin'd in narrower compaſs, and bound within the viſible ſphere of day.

24. *More ſafe I ſing with mortal voice, unchang'd*
To hoarſe or mute,] Dr. Bentley reads *with lofty voice*. Why *mortal voice?* ſays the Doctor. I anſwer, becauſe Milton had ſaid in ver. 2. that he had *follow'd Urania's voice divine*. Again (ſays the Doctor) if his voice had grown *hoarſe*, would it not have been ſtill *mortal?* and what is a voice changed to *mute?* Both theſe queſtions are ſatisfy'd by putting only a comma, as in the firſt editions, (not a colon, as the Doctor has done) after *mute*. The words *unchang'd to hoarſe or mute* refer to *I*, and not to *voice*, as he ſuppoſes; and then all is good ſenſe, and there will be no need to read with the Doctor, *To hoarſe or low.* Pearce.

25.—*though fall'n on evil days,*] The repetition and turn of the words is very beautiful,

——though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues; *&c.*

A lively picture this in a few lines of the poet's wretched condition. *In darkneſs, though* is ſtill underſtood; he was not become *hoarſe* or *mute* though *in darkneſs*, though he was blind, *and with dangers compaſs'd round, and ſolitude*, obnoxious to the government, and having a world of enemies among the royal party, and therefore oblig'd to live very much in privacy and alone. And what ſtrength of mind was it that could not only ſupport him under the weight of theſe misfortunes, but enable

But drive far off the barbarous diſſonance
Of Bacchus and his revelers, the race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the ſavage clamor drown'd
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muſe defend
Her ſon. So fail not thou, who thee implores:
For thou art heav'nly, ſhe an empty dream.
Say Goddeſs, what enſued when Raphaël,
The affable Arch-Angel, had forewarn'd

Adam

able him to ſoar to ſuch hights, as no human genius ever reach'd before?

31.—*and fit audience find, though few,*] He had Horace in mind, Sat. I. X. 73.

—neque te ut miretur turba, labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus.

33. *Of Bacchus and his revelers,*] It is not improbable that the poet intended this as an oblique ſatir upon the diſſoluteneſs of Charles the ſecond and his court, from whom he ſeems to apprehend the fate of Orpheus, a famous poet of Thrace, who tho' he is ſaid to have charm'd woods and rocks with his divine ſongs, yet was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian women on Rhodope a mountain of Thrace, nor could the Muſe Calliope his mother defend him. *So fail not thou, who thee implores*; nor was his wiſh ineffectual, for the government ſuffer'd him to live and die unmoleſted.

40.—*what enſued when Raphaël,* &c.] Longinus has obſerved, that there may be a loftineſs of ſentiments, where there is no paſſion, and brings inſtances out of ancient authors to ſupport this his opinion. The pathetic, as that great critic obſerves, may animate and inflame the ſublime, but is not eſſential to it. Accordingly as he further remarks, we very often find that thoſe who excel moſt in ſtirring up the paſſions, very often want the talent of writing in the great and ſublime manner, and ſo on the contrary. Milton has ſhown himſelf a maſter in both theſe ways of writing. The ſeventh book, which we are now entering upon, is an inſtance of that ſublime, which is not mixed and worked up with paſſion. The author appears in a kind of compoſed and ſedate majeſty; and tho' the ſentiments do not give ſo great an emotion, as thoſe in the former book, they abound with

Adam by dire example to beware
Apoſtaſy, by what befel in Heaven
To thoſe apoſtates, leſt the like befall
In Paradiſe to Adam or his race,
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,
If they tranſgreſs, and ſlight that ſole command,
So eaſily obey'd amid the choice
Of all taſtes elſe to pleaſe their appetite,
Though wand'ring. He with his conſorted Eve
The ſtory heard attentive, and was fill'd
With admiration and deep muſe, to hear
Of things ſo high and ſtrange, things to their thought
So unimaginable as hate in Heaven,

And

with as magnificent ideas. The ſixth book, like a troubled ocean, repreſents greatneſs in confuſion; the ſeventh affects the imagination like the ocean in a calm, and fills the mind of the reader, without producing in it any thing like tumult or agitation. The critic above mention'd, among the rules which he lays down for ſucceeding in the ſublime way of writing, propoſes to his reader, that he ſhould imitate the moſt celebrated authors who have gone before him, and been engaged in works of the ſame nature; as in particular, that if he writes on a poetical ſubject, he ſhould conſider how Homer would have ſpoken on ſuch an occaſion. By this means one great genius often catches the flame from another, and writes in his ſpirit, without copying ſervily after him. There are a thouſand ſhining paſſages in Virgil, which have been lighted up by Homer. Milton, tho' his own natural ſtrength of genius was capable of furniſhing out a perfect work, has doubtleſs very much raiſed and ennobled his conceptions, by ſuch an imitation as that which Longinus has recommended. In this book, which gives us an account of the ſix days works, the poet received very few aſſiſtances from Heathen writers, who were ſtrangers to the wonders of creation. But as there are many glorious ſtrokes of poetry upon this ſubject in holy Writ, the author has numberleſs alluſions to them thro' the whole

And war ſo near the peace of God in bliſs
With ſuch confuſion: but the evil ſoon
Driv'n back redounded as a flood on thoſe
From whom it ſprung, impoſſible to mix
With bleſſedneſs. Whence Adam ſoon repeal'd
The doubts that in his heart aroſe: and now
Led on, yet ſinleſs, with deſire to know
What nearer might concern him, how this world
Of Heav'n and Earth conſpicuous firſt began,
When, and whereof created, for what cauſe,
What within Eden or without was done
Before his memory, as one whoſe drouth
Yet ſcarce allay'd ſtill eyes the current ſtream,
Whoſe

whole courſe of this book. The great critic I have before mention'd, though an Heathen, has taken notice of the ſublime manner in which the Lawgiver of the Jews has deſcribed the creation in the firſt chapter of Geneſis; and there are many other paſſages in Scripture which riſe up to the ſame majeſty, where this ſubject is touched upon. Milton has ſhown his judgment very remarkably, in making uſe of ſuch of theſe as were proper for his poem, and in duly qualifying thoſe high ſtrains of eaſtern poetry, which were ſuited to readers whoſe imaginations were ſet to a higher pitch than thoſe of colder climates. *Addiſon.*

47. *If they tranſgreſs*, &c.] We ſhould obſerve the connexion; *Leſt the like befall to Adam or his race, if they tranſgreſs*, &c.

50. *He with his conſorted Eve*] *Conſorted* from *Conſort*, Cum conſorte tori, as Ovid ſays, Met. I. 319.

59.—*Whence Adam ſoon repeal'd*
The doubts that in his heart aroſe:] Dr. Bentley would read *diſpell'd*; but if an alteration were neceſſary, I ſhould rather read *repell'd*, as in ver. 610. we have—*their counſels vain Thou haſt repell'd.* But in the ſame ſenſe as a law is ſaid to be *repeal'd*, when an end is put to all the force and effect of it; ſo, when *doubts* are at an end, they may be ſaid to be *repeal'd*. Pearce.

69. *Pro-*

Whoſe liquid murmur heard new thirſt excites,
Proceeded thus to aſk his heav'nly gueſt.
Great things, and full of wonder in our ears
Far differing from this world, thou haſt reveal'd,
Divine interpreter, by favor ſent
Down from the empyréan to forewarn
Us timely' of what might elſe have been our loſs,
Unknown, which human knowledge could not reach:
For which to th' infinitely Good we owe
Immortal thanks, and his admoniſhment
Receive with ſolemn purpoſe to obſerve
Immutably his ſovran will, the end
Of what we are. But ſince thou haſt vouchſaf'd
Gently for our inſtruction to impart

Things

69. *Proceeded thus* &c.] The conſtruction is, *And led on with deſire to know* &c. *proceeded thus to aſk his heav'nly gueſt.*

70. *Great things*, &c.] Adam's ſpeech to the Angel, wherein he deſires an account of what had paſſed within the regions of nature before the creation, is very great and ſolemn. The following lines, in which he tells him, that the day is not too far ſpent for him to enter upon ſuch a ſubject, are exquiſite in their kind.

And the great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race &c. *Addiſon.*

72. *Divine interpreter,*] So Mercury is called in Virgil, *Interpres Divum*, Æn. IV. 378.

79. ——*the end*
Of what we are.] The will of God is the end to which all we are; *thou haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they are and were created*, Rev. IV. 11.

88.—*and this which yields or fills*
All ſpace, the ambient air wide interfus'd] Yields ſpace to all bodies, and again fills up the deſerted ſpace ſo as to be ſubſervient to motion. *Richardſon.*

Ambient

Things above earthly thought, which yet concern'd
Our knowing, as to higheſt wiſdom ſeem'd,
Deign to deſcend now lower, and relate
What may no leſs perhaps avail us known,
How firſt began this Heav'n which we behold
Diſtant ſo high, with moving fires adorn'd
Innumerable, and this which yields or fills
All ſpace, the ambient air wide interfus'd
Embracing round this florid earth, what cauſe
Mov'd the Creator in his holy reſt
Through all eternity ſo late to build
In Chaos, and the work begun, how ſoon
Abſolv'd, if unforbid thou may'ſt unfold
What we, not to explore the ſecrets aſk
Of

Ambient interfus'd denotes the air not only ſurrounding the earth, but flowing into and ſpun out between all bodies; and is a fuller and finer notation of its liquid and ſpiritual texture, leaving no Vacuum in nature than that of Ovid,

Nec circumfuſo pendebat in aëre tellus. Met. I. 12. *Hume.*

92. —— *ſo late to build*] It is a queſtion that has been often aſked, Why God did not create the world ſooner? but the ſame queſtion might be aſked, if the world had been created at any time, for ſtill there were infinite ages before that time. And that can never be a juſt exception againſt this time, which holds equally againſt all time. It muſt be reſolved into the good will and pleaſure of almighty God; but there is a farther reaſon according to Milton's hypotheſis, which is that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declar'd his pleaſure to ſupply their place by creating another world, and other creatures to dwell therein.

94. *Abſolv'd,*] Finiſh'd, completed, perfected, from *Abſolutus* (Latin.) *Richardſon.*

98. *And*

Of his eternal empire, but the more
To magnify his works, the more we know.
And the great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race though ſteep; ſuſpenſe in Heaven,
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His generation, and the riſing birth
Of nature from the unapparent deep:
Or if the ſtar of evening and the moon
Haſte to thy audience, night with her will bring
Silence,

98. *And the great light of day yet wants to run* &c.] Our author has improv'd upon Homer, Odyſſ. XI. 372. where Alcinous by the ſame ſort of arguments endevors to perſuade Ulyſſes to continue his narration; only there it was night, and here the ſcenes is by day.

Νυξ δ' ηδε μαλα μακρη, αθεσφατος· ουδε κω ωρη
Ευδειν εν μεγαρω· Συ δε μοι λεξ' θεσκελα εργα.
Και κεν ες ηω δια νυκτα διαν ανασχοιμην——

And lo! a length of night behind remains,
The evening ſtars ſtill mount th' ethereal plains,
Thy tale with raptures I could hear thee tell,
Thy woes on Earth, the wondrous ſcenes in Hell,
Till in the vault of Heav'n the ſtars decay,
And the ſky reddens with the riſing day. Broome.

Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that there is not a greater inſtance of our author's exquiſite ſkill in the art of poetry, than this and the following lines. There is nothing more, really to be expreſs'd, than Adam's telling Raphael his deſire to hear the continuance of his relation, and yet the poet by a ſeries of ſtrong and noble figures has work'd it up into half a ſcore of as fine lines as any in the whole poem. Lord Shaftſbury has obſerved, that Milton's beauties generally depend upon ſolid thought, ſtrong reaſoning, noble paſſion, and a continued thread of moral doctrin; but in this place he has ſhewn what an exalted fancy and mere force of poetry can do.

99.—*ſuſpenſe*

Silence, and ſleep liſt'ning to thee will watch,
Or we can bid his abſence, till thy ſong
End, and diſmiſs thee ere the morning ſhine.
Thus Adam his illuſtrious gueſt beſought:
And thus the Godlike Angel anſwer'd mild.
This alſo thy requeſt with caution aſk'd
Obtain; though to recount almighty works
What words or tongue of Seraph can ſuffice,
Or heart of man ſuffice to comprehend?
Yet what thou canſt attain, which beſt may ſerve

To

99.——*ſuſpenſe in Heaven, Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears.*] We have here alter'd the punctuation of the firſt editions, which was thus,

——ſuſpenſe in Heaven
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,

for after it is ſaid *he is held ſuſpenſe in Heaven by thy voice*, to ſay *he hears thy voice* is poor and low indeed. He muſt hear it before he can be held by it. We have therefore followed the punctuation of Dr. Pearce; and the ſenſe ſeems plain, as he has pointed theſe verſes, *Held by thy potent voice, he hears ſuſpenſe in Heaven*, that is he ſtops and hearkens, he ſtays and is attentive. The poets often feign the rivers to ſtop their courſe, and other inanimate parts of nature to hear the ſongs of Orpheus and the like, Virg. Ecl. VIII. 4.

Et mutata ſuos requierunt flumina curſus.

Nay charms and verſes can bring the moon down from Heaven,

Carmina vel cœlo poſſunt deducere lunam: ver. 69.

and well therefore may Milton ſuppoſe the ſun to *delay, ſuſpended in Heaven, to hear the Angel tell his generation*, and eſpecially ſince we read that the ſun did ſtand ſtill at the voice of Joſhua.

103.—*unapparent deep:*] Where nothing was to be ſeen according to Gen. I. 2. *Darkneſs was upon the face of the deep.* Hume.

110. *And thus the Godlike Angel anſwer'd mild.*] The Angel's encouraging our firſt parents in a modeſt purſuit after knowledge, with the cauſes which he aſſigns for the

To glorify the Maker, and infer
Thee alſo happier, ſhall not be withheld
Thy hearing, ſuch commiſſion from above
I have receiv'd, to anſwer thy deſire
Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abſtain
To aſk, nor let thine own inventions hope
Things not reveal'd, which th' inviſible King,
Only omniſcient, hath ſuppreſs'd in night,
To none communicable in Earth or Heaven:
Enough is left beſides to ſearch and know.
But knowledge is as food, and needs no leſs
Her temp'rance over appetite, to know
In meaſure what the mind may well contain;
Oppreſſes elſe with ſurfeit, and ſoon turns

Wiſdom

the creation of the world are very juſt and beautiful. *Addiſon.*

116. —— *and infer*
Thee happier,] And by inference make thee happier.

121. — *nor let thine own inventions hope*] Milton ſeems here to allude to Eccleſ. VII. 20. *they have ſought out many inventions*; which commentators explain by reaſonings. No need then for Dr. Bentley's *conceptions*. Pearce.

Dr. Bentley miſliking the word *inventions* changes it for *conceptions*, which, I fancy, he would not have done, had he conſidered the Scripture uſe of this term, to which, I make no doubt, Milton alluded. *Thus they provoked him to anger with their own inventions*, Pſal. CVI. 29. *And went a whoring with their own inventions*, ver. 38. The two following lines are almoſt a litteral tranſlation of theſe two in Horace, Od. III. XXIX. 29.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginoſâ nocte premit Deus.
Thyer.

122. ——*th' inviſible King,*] As God is ſtiled in Scripture *the inviſible King*, 1 Tim. I. 17. ſo this is the propereſt epithet that could have been

Wiſdom to folly', as nouriſhment to wind.
Know then, that after Lucifer from Heaven
(So call him, brighter once amidſt the hoſt
Of Angels, than that ſtar the ſtars among)
Fell with his flaming legions through the deep
Into his place, and the great Son return'd
Victorious with his Saints, th' omnipotent
Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus ſpake.
At leaſt our envious foe hath fail'd, who thought
All like himſelf rebellious, by whoſe aid
This inacceſſible high ſtrength, the ſeat
Of deity ſupreme, us diſpoſſeſs'd,
He truſted to have ſeis'd, and into fraud
Drew

been employ'd here, when he is ſpeaking of *things not reveal'd, ſuppreſs'd in night, to none communicable, in Earth or Heaven*, neither to Men nor Angels, as it is ſaid of the day of judgment, Mat. XXIV. 36. *Of that day and hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only.*

135. *Into his place,*] As the traitor Judas is ſaid likewiſe to go *to his own place*, Acts I. 25.

139. *At leaſt*] I don't like taking liberties with the original text, or elſe I ſhould chooſe to read *At laſt*. Thyer.

143. ——*and into fraud Drew many,*] *Fraud* in common acceptation means no more than deceit, but often ſignifies misfortune. Milton, who ſo conſtantly makes Latin or Greek of Engliſh, does it here, and extends the idea to the miſery, the puniſhment conſequent upon the deceit, as well as the deceit itſelf. So that Satan is ſaid here, not only to have drawn many into fraud, not only that he

——allur'd them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's hoſt,

Drew many, whom their place knows here no more;
Yet far the greater part have kept, I ſee,
Their ſtation, Heav'n yet populous retains
Number ſufficient to poſſeſs her realms
Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
With miniſteries due and ſolemn rites:
But leſt his heart exalt him in the harm
Already done, to have diſpeopled Heaven,
My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
That detriment, if ſuch it be to loſe
Self-loſt, and in a moment will create
Another world, out of one man a race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd

They

as V. 709. but that he ruin'd as well as cheated them, I. 609.

Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd
Of Heav'n, and from eternal ſplendors flung
For his revolt. *Richardſon.*

144. —— *whom their place knows here no more;*] A Scripture expreſſion, Job VII. 10. *neither ſhall his place know him any more.* Pſal. CIII. 16. *and the place thereof ſhall know it no more.*

154. —— *and in a moment*] Our author ſeems to favor the opinion of ſome Divines, that God's creation was inſtantaneous, but the effects of it were made viſible and appear'd in ſix days in condeſcenſion to the capacities of Angels; and is ſo related by Moſes in condeſcenſion to the capacities of Men.

160. *And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,*] Milton's meaning ſeems to have been this, That Earth would be ſo happy in being inhabited by *obedient* creatures, that it would be chang'd to *i. e.* reſemble Heaven; and Heaven by receiving thoſe creatures would in this reſemble Earth, that it would be ſtock'd with men for its inhabitants. *Pearce.*

Or

They open to themſelves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience try'd,
And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,
One kingdom, joy and union without end.
Mean while inhabit lax, ye Pow'rs of Heaven,
And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform, ſpeak thou, and be it done:
My overſhadowing Spi'rit and might with thee
I ſend along; ride forth, and bid the deep
Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,
Boundleſs the deep, becauſe I am who fill
Infinitude, nor vacuous the ſpace.
Though I uncircumſcrib'd myſelf retire,
And put not forth my goodneſs which is free

To

Or thus in ſhort, the Angels frequently viſiting Earth, and Men being tranſlated to Heaven.

162. *Mean while inhabit lax,*] Dwell more at large, there being more room now than there was before the rebel Angels were expell'd, or than there will be after Men are tranſlated to Heaven. If this be the meaning, we cannot much commend the beauty of the ſentiment, as it intimates that the Angels might be ſtraiten'd for room in Heaven.

165. *My overſhadowing Spi'rit*] As God's Spirit is ſaid to do, Luke I. 35. *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee:* and we read Gen. I. 2. that *the Spirit of God moved*, or rather brooded, *upon the face of the waters.* The Spirit of God cooperated in the creation, and therefore is ſaid to be *ſent along* with the Son.

168. *Boundleſs the deep*, &c.] The ſenſe is, the deep is boundleſs, but the ſpace contain'd in it is not vacuous and empty, becauſe there is an infinitude and I fill it. Tho' I, who am myſelf uncircumſcrib'd, ſet bounds to my goodneſs, and do not exert it every where, yet neither neceſſity nor chance influence my actions, &c. *Pearce.*

To act or not, neceſſity and chance
Approach not me, and what I will is fate.
So ſpake th' Almighty, and to what he ſpake
His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect.
Immediate are the acts of God, more ſwift
Than time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without proceſs of ſpeech be told,
So told as earthly notion can receive.
Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heaven,
When ſuch was heard declar'd th' Almighty's will;
Glory they ſung to the moſt High, good will
To future men, and in their dwellings peace:
Glory

173. — *and what I will is fate.*] From Lucan, V. 91.

—Deus magnuſque potenſque
Sive canit fatum, ſeu quod jubet ipſe canendo
Fit fatum. *Bentley.*

Or from Statius, Theb. I. 212.

—grave et immutabile ſanctis
Pondus adeſt verbis, et vocem fata ſequuntur. *Jortin.*

An expreſſion borrow'd from Taſſo, where Satan mimicking the Deity ſays to his followers,

Sia deſtin ciò, ch' io voglio——
Gier. Lib. Cant. 4. St. 17.

Or rather from Claudian, De Rapt. Proſ. II. 306.

Sit fatum quodcunque voles —— *Thyer.*

182. *Glory they ſung to the moſt High,* &c.] The Angels are very properly made to ſing the ſame divine ſong to uſher in the creation, that they did to uſher in the ſecond creation by Jeſus Chriſt, Luke II. 14. And we cannot but approve Dr. Bentley's emendation, *Glory they ſung to God moſt High*, inſtead of *to the moſt High*, as it improves the meaſure of the verſe, is more oppos'd to *men* immediately following, and agrees better with the words of St. Luke, *Glory to God in the higheſt, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*

186. ——*to him Glory and praiſe.*] It may be worth remarking how he turns the words, ver. 184. *Glory to him*, &c. and here *to him Glory and praiſe.* One would wonder

Glory to him, whoſe juſt avenging ire
Had driven out the' ungodly from his ſight
And th' habitations of the juſt; to him
Glory and praiſe, whoſe wiſdom had ordain'd
Good out of evil to create, inſtead
Of Spi'rits malign a better race to bring
Into their vacant room, and thence diffuſe
His good to worlds and ages infinite.
So ſang the Hierarchies: Mean while the Son
On his great expedition now appear'd,
Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crown'd
Of majeſty divine; ſapience and love
Immenſe,

wonder how it could ever have been objected to Milton that there were no turns of the words in him, when there are more beautiful repetitions and turns of the words in him than in almoſt any poet. A bare repetition of the words often gives great force and beauty to the ſentence, as in Iliad. XX. 371.

Τω δ' εγω αυτος ειμι, και ει πυρι χειρας εοικεν,
Ει πυρι χειρας εοικε, μενος δ' αιθωνι Σιδηρω.

and Iliad. XII. 127.

Τω καριζεμεναι, ατε παρθενος ηϊθεος τε,
Παρθενος ηϊθεος τ', καριζετον αλληλοισιν

and Virg. Æn. VII. 586.

Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, reſiſtit;
Ut pelagi rupes——

But Milton ſeldom repeats the words without the additional beauty of turning them too, as in this place; and in this book before,

—though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n and evil tongues;

and I know not whether the Engliſh verſe has not in this reſpect the advantage of the Greek and Latin.

192.—*Mean while the Son* &c.] The Meſſiah, by whom, as we are told in Scripture, the worlds were made, comes forth in the power of

Immenſe, and all his Father in him ſhone.
About his chariot numberleſs were pour'd
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And Virtues, winged Spi'rits, and chariots wing'd
From th' armoury of God, where ſtand of old
Myriads between two brazen mountains lodg'd
Againſt a ſolemn day, harneſs'd at hand,
Celeſtial equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them Spirit liv'd,
Attendent

his Father, ſurrounded with an hoſt of Angels, and clothed with ſuch a majeſty as becomes his entring upon a work, which according to our conceptions appears the utmoſt exertion of omnipotence. What a beautiful deſcription has our author raiſed upon that hint in one of the Prophets! *And behold there came four chariots out from between two mountains, and the mountains were mountains of braſs.* (Zech. VI. 1.) I have before taken notice of theſe chariots of God, and of the gates of Heaven; and ſhall here only add, that Homer gives us the ſame idea of the latter, as opening of themſelves; though he afterwards takes off from it by telling us, that the *Hours* firſt of all removed thoſe prodigious heaps of clouds which lay as a barrier before them. *Addiſon.*

197. *About his chariot numberleſs were pour'd*
Cherub and Seraph,] Dr. Bentley calls *Cherub pour'd* an aukward expreſſion: But yet we read in II. 997.

—— Heav'n gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands.

Par. Reg. III. 310.

——and ſaw what numbers numberleſs
The city gates out *pour'd*.

And ſo in Virg. Æn. I. 214. *Fuſi* per herbam, and VII. 812. agris *effuſa* juventus, and frequently elſe where. But the word *pour'd* has ſtill more propriety here, as it ſhows the readineſs and forwardneſs of the Angels to attend the Meſſiah's expedition: they were ſo earneſt as not to ſtay to form themſelves into regular order, but were *pour'd numberleſs about his chariot*. Pearce.

206. ——*harmonious ſound*
On golden hinges moving,] Gates moving ſound on hinges. So III. 37. *Thoughts move harmonious numbers.* Horace

Attendent on their Lord: Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever during gates, harmonious ſound
On golden hinges moving, to let forth
The King of Glory in his pow'rful Word
And Spirit coming to create new worlds.
On heav'nly ground they ſtood, and from the ſhore
They view'd the vaſt immeaſurable abyſs
Outrageous as a ſea, dark, waſteful, wild,
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds

And

Horace expreſſes it in the ſame manner, Ep. II. II. 86.

Verba lyræ motura ſonum connectere digner?

The infernal doors had no ſuch harmony; they *grated harſh thunder that ſhook Erebus*, II. 881.

Richardſon.

210. *On heav'nly ground they ſtood*, &c.] I do not know any thing in the whole poem more ſublime than the deſcription which follows, where the Meſſiah is repreſented at the head of his Angels, as looking down into the Chaos, calming its confuſion, riding into the midſt of it, and drawing the firſt out-line of the creation. *Addiſon.*

211. *They view'd* &c.] Milton's deſcription of God the Son and his attendent Angels viewing the vaſt unmeaſurable abyſs &c. has a great reſemblance to the following paſſage in Vida. Chriſt. Lib. 1.

Hic ſuperûm ſator informem ſpeculatus acervum,
Æternam noctemque, indigeſtumque profundum,
Prime videbatur moliri exordia rerum
Ipſe micans radiis, ac multâ luce coruſcus.

And that he had this in his eye is I think the more probable, becauſe his account of the creation of light and its being afterwards tranſplanted into the ſun's orb, which was not yet created, carries a ſtrong alluſion to the ſucceeding lines,

Jamque videbatur fulvâ de nube creare
Stelligeri convexa poli, terraſque, fretumque,
Et lucem ſimul undivagam, mox unde micantes
Et ſolis radios, et cœli accenderet ignes. *Thyer.*

And ſurging waves, as mountains, to aſſault
Heav'n's highth, and with the center mix the pole.
Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou deep, peace,
Said then th' omnific Word, your diſcord end:
Nor ſtay'd, but on the wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in paternal glory rode

Far

214. *And ſurging waves,*] We have already given ſome inſtances where we thought that *and* and *in* have been miſprinted the one for the other: and I queſtion whether in this place we ſhould not read *In ſurging waves as mountains*; for it ſeems better to ſay of the ſea, *Up from the bottom turn'd* in *ſurging waves*, than *Up from the bottom turn'd* by *ſurging waves*.

215. —— *and with the center mix the pole.*] 'Tis certain that in Chaos was neither center nor pole; ſo neither were there any mountains as in the preceding line; the Angel does not ſay there were: He tells Adam there was ſuch confuſion in Chaos, as if on earth the ſea in mountainous waves ſhould riſe from its very bottom to aſſault Heaven, and mix the center of the globe with the extremities of it. The apteſt illuſtration he could poſſibly have thought of to have given Adam ſome idea of the thing. *Richardſon.*

216. *Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou deep, peace,*] How much does the brevity of the command add to the ſublimity and majeſty of it! It is the ſame kind of beauty that Longinus admires in the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation. It is of the ſame ſtrain with the ſame *omnific Word*'s calming the tempeſt in the Goſpel, when he ſaid to the raging ſea, *Peace, be ſtill*, Mark IV. 39. And how elegantly has he turn'd the commanding words *ſilence* and *peace*, making one the firſt and the other the laſt in the ſentence, and thereby giving the greater force and emphaſis to both! And how nobly has he concluded the verſe with a ſpondee or foot of two long ſyllables, which is not a common meaſure in this place, but when it is uſed, it neceſſarily occaſions a ſlower pronunciation, and thereby fixes more the attention of the reader! It is a beauty of the ſame kind as the ſpondee in the fifth place in Greek or Latin verſes, of which there are ſome memorable examples in Virgil, as when he ſpeaks of low valleys, Georg. III. 276.

Saxa per et ſcopulos et depreſſas convalles:

or when he would deſcribe the majeſty of the Gods, Ecl. IV. 49.

Cara Deûm ſoboles, magnum Jovis incrementum;

Æn. VIII. 679.

—— Penatibus, et magnis Diis:

or

Far into Chaos, and the world unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice: him all his train
Follow'd in bright proceſſion to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then ſtay'd the fervid wheels, and in his hand
He took the golden compaſſes, prepar'd
In

or great caution and circumſpection, Æn. II. 68.

Conſtitit, atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumſpexit:

or a great interval between two men running, Æn. V. 320.

Proximus huic, longo ſed proximus intervallo.

The learned and ingenious Mr. Upton, in his Critical Obſervations, hath given us a parallel inſtance out of Shakeſpear, and ſays that no poet did ever equal this beauty but Shakeſpear. In Macbeth, Act II.

What hath quench'd them, hath giv'n me fire. Hark, peace.

224. ——*the fervid wheels,*] Horace's epithet, Od. I. I. 4.

Metaque *fervidis* evitata *rotis*
Hume.

225. *He took the golden compaſſes,*] Prov. VIII. 27. *When he prepared the Heavens I was there; when he ſet a compaſs upon the face of the deep.* Dionyſ. Perieg. ad finem.

Αὐλοι γαρ τα πρωτα θεμειλια τορνωσαντο,
Και βαθυν οιμον ιδειξαν αμειρητοιο θαλασσης.

They round the Chaos, round the world unborn
Firſt deign'd their golden compaſſes to turn;
They thro' the deep chalk'd out our ample road,
And broke the lawleſs empire of the flood.
Kennet's Life of Dionyſius.
Richardſon.

The thought of the golden compaſſes is conceived altogether in Homer's ſpirit, and is a very noble incident in this wonderful deſcription. Homer, when he ſpeaks of the Gods, aſcribes to them ſeveral arms and inſtruments with the ſame greatneſs of imagination. Let the reader only peruſe the deſcription of Minerva's Ægis or buckler in the fifth book, with her ſpear which would overturn whole ſquadrons, and her helmet that was ſufficient to cover an army drawn out of a hundred cities. The golden compaſſes in the above mention'd paſſage appear a very natural inſtrument in the hand of him, whom Plato ſomewhere calls the divine geometrician. As poetry delights in clothing abſtracted ideas in allegories and ſenſible images, we find a magnificent deſcription of the creation form'd after the ſame manner

In God's eternal ſtore, to circumſcribe
This univerſe, and all created things:
One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
Round through the vaſt profundity obſcure,
And ſaid, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy juſt circumference, O world.
Thus God the Heav'n created, thus the Earth,
Matter unform'd and void: Darkneſs profound
Cover'd th' abyſs: but on the watry calm

His

ner in one of the Prophets, wherein he deſcribes the almighty Architect as meaſuring the waters in the hollow of his hand, meting out the Heavens with his ſpan, comprehending the duſt of the earth in a meaſure, weighing the mountains in ſcales, and the hills in a balance. Another of them deſcribing the ſupreme Being in this great work of creation repreſents him as laying the foundations of the earth, and ſtretching a line upon it: and in another place as garniſhing the Heavens, ſtretching out the north over the empty place, and hanging the earth upon nothing. This laſt noble thought Milton has expreſs'd in the following verſe,

And Earth ſelf-balanc'd on her center hung. *Addiſon.*

232. *Thus God the Heav'n created,* &c.] The reader will naturally remark how exactly Milton copies Moſes in his account of the creation. This ſeventh book of Paradiſe Loſt may be called a larger ſort of paraphraſe upon the firſt chapter of Geneſis. Milton not only obſerves the ſame ſeries and order, but preſerves the very words as much as he can, as we may ſee in this and other inſtances. *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth; and the Earth was without form and void, and darkneſs was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.* Gen. I. 1, 2. The poet ſays *watry calm*, as the Meſſiah had before calmed the deep, ver. 216. and ſays *outſpread his brooding wings* inſtead of *moved*, following the original rather than our tranſlation.

239. —— *then founded, then conglob'd* &c.] Milton had ſaid that Meſſiah firſt purg'd downward the infernal dregs which were adverſe to life; and that then of things friendly to life he *founded* and *conglob'd* like to like, that is he caus'd them to aſſemble and aſſociate together: the *reſt*, that is ſuch things as were

His brooding wings the Spirit of God outſpread,
And vital virtue' infus'd, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid maſs, but downward purg'd
The black tartareous cold infernal dregs
Adverſe to life: then founded, then conglob'd
Like things to like, the reſt to ſeveral place
Diſparted, and between ſpun out the air,
And Earth ſelf-balanc'd on her center hung.
Let there be light, ſaid God, and forthwith light
Ethereal,

were not of the ſame nature and fit for compoſing the earth, went off to other places, perhaps to form the planets and fix'd ſtars. This ſeems to be Milton's meaning. *Pearce.* Here it will be of uſe to recur to the account in III. 708. The earthy, watry, aery, and fiery particles, which before were blended promiſcuouſly, were now combin'd and fix'd as a foundation; for *founded* does either ſignify that from *fundare*, or to melt from *fundere*; this latter it cannot mean, 'twas already fluid. Thus Pſal. LXXXIX. 11. *As for the world and the fulneſs thereof, Thou haſt founded them.* So Prov. III. 19. *The Lord by wiſdom hath founded the earth.* The *reſt* muſt be ſomething different from the now elementary bodies, and that (III. 716.) is determin'd to be the ethereal quinteſſence of which the heavenly luminous bodies were form'd.

Richardſon.

Diffugere inde loci partes cœpere, pareſque
Cum paribus jungi res &c.
Lucret. V. 438.

241.—*and between ſpun out the air, And Earth ſelf-balanc'd on her center hung.*] From Ovid Met. I. 12. but very much improved;

——circumfuſo pendebat in aëre tellus
Ponderibus librata ſuis.

243. *Let there be light, ſaid God, and forthwith light* &c.] Gen. I. 3. *And God ſaid, Let there be light; and there was light.* This is the paſſage that Longinus particularly admires; and no doubt its ſublimity is greatly owing to its conciſeneſs; but our poet inlarges upon it, endevoring to give ſome account how light was created the firſt day, when the ſun was not form'd till the fourth day. He ſays that it was *ſpher'd in a radiant cloud*, and ſo *journey'd* round the earth *in a cloudy tabernacle*; and herein he is juſtify'd by the authority of ſome commentators; though others think this light was the light of the ſun, which

ſhone

Ethereal, firſt of things, quinteſſence pure
Sprung from the deep, and from her native eaſt
To journey through the aery gloom began,
Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the ſun
Was not; ſhe in a cloudy tabernacle
Sojourn'd the while. God ſaw the light was good;
And light from darkneſs by the hemiſphere
Divided: light the day, and darkneſs night
He nam'd. Thus was the firſt day ev'n and morn:
Nor paſt uncelebrated, nor unſung
By the celeſtial quires, when orient light
Exhaling firſt from darkneſs they beheld;

Birth-

ſhone as yet very imperfectly, and did not appear in full luſtre till the fourth day. It is moſt probable, that by light (as it was produc'd the firſt day) we muſt not underſtand the darting of rays from a luminous body, ſuch as do now proceed from the ſun, but thoſe particles of matter which we call *fire* (whoſe properties we know are *light* and *heat*) which the Almighty produc'd, as a proper inſtrument for the preparation and digeſtion of other matter. So Biſhop Patrick upon the text. However it be, Milton's account is certainly very poetical, tho' you may not allow it to be the moſt philoſophical, and is agreeable to the deſcription before quoted from Vida. See Mr. Thyer's note upon ver. 211.

248. ——— *a cloudy tabernacle*] Alluding to the glory of the Lord ſojourning in the tabernacle, before a more glorious temple was built for its fixed reſidence and habitation. *Greenwood.*

249. —— *God ſaw the light was good*; &c.] What follows is little more than the words of Moſes verſify'd. *And God ſaw the light that it was good, and God divided the light from the darkneſs:* Milton adds how it was divided, *by the hemiſphere.*

And light from darkneſs by the
hemiſphere
Divided.

And God called the light day, and darkneſs he called night; and the evening and the morning were the firſt day. Gen. I. 4, 5.

253. *Nor paſt uncelebrated*, &c.] The beauties of deſcription lie ſo very thick, that it is almoſt impoſſible to enumerate them. The poet has

Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth; with joy and ſhout
The hollow univerſal orb they fill'd,
And touch'd their golden harps, and hymning prais'd
God and his works, Creator him they ſung,
Both when firſt evening was, and when firſt morn.
Again, God ſaid, let there be firmament
Amid the waters, and let it divide
The waters from the waters; and God made
The firmament, expanſe of liquid, pure,
Tranſparent, elemental air, diffus'd
In circuit to the uttermoſt convex
Of this great round; partition firm and ſure,

The

has employ'd on them the whole energy of our tongue. The ſeveral great ſcenes of the creation riſe up to view one after another, in ſuch a manner, that the reader ſeems preſent at this wonderful work, and to aſſiſt among the quires of Angels, who are the ſpectators of it. How glorious is the concluſion of the firſt day! *Addiſon.*

256. —— *with joy and ſhout*
The hollow univerſal orb they fill'd,] The Angels ſinging and ſhouting for joy at the creation of the world ſeems to be founded upon Job XXXVIII. 4, 7. *Where waſt thou when I laid the foundations of the earth; when the morning ſtars ſang together, and all the ſons of God ſhouted for joy?* And with this joy and ſhout *they fill'd the hollow univerſal orb*, the *great round* (as it is call'd ver. 267.) of the univerſe, *hollow* as being concave and having no creatures to inhabit it.

261. *Again God ſaid*, &c.] When he makes God ſpeak, he adheres cloſely to the words of Scripture. *And God ſaid, Let there be a firmament in the midſt of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.* Gen. I. 6. But when he ſays that *God made the firmament*, he explains what is meant by the firmament. The Hebrew word, which the Greeks render by στερεωμα, and our tranſlators by firmament, ſignifies *expanſion:* it is render'd *expanſion* in the margin of our bibles, and Milton rightly explains it by *the expanſe of elemental air.*

264.—*liquid air,*] Virg. Æn. VI. 202. liquidumque per aëra.

267. —*partition firm and ſure,*] For its certainty not ſolidity. St. Auguſtin

The waters underneath from thoſe above
Dividing: for as earth, ſo he the world
Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Cryſtallin ocean, and the loud miſrule
Of Chaos far remov'd, leſt fierce extremes
Contiguous might diſtemper the whole frame:
And Heav'n he nam'd the firmament: So even
And morning chorus ſung the ſecond day.

The

Auguſtin upon Geneſis. *It is not call'd firmament as being a ſolid body, but becauſe it is a bound or term between the upper and nether waters; a partition firm and immoveable, not upon account of its ſtation, but of its firmneſs and intranſgreſſibility.* *Hume* and *Richardſon.*

268. *The waters underneath from thoſe above*
Dividing:] They who underſtand the *firmament* to be the vaſt air, expanded and ſtretch'd out on all ſides to the ſtarry Heavens, eſteem the waters above it to be thoſe generated, in the middle region of the air, of vapors exhaled and drawn up thither from the ſteaming earth and nether waters; which deſcend again in ſuch vaſt ſhowers and mighty floods of rain, that not only rivers, but ſeas may be imaginable above, as appeared when the *cataracts* came down in a deluge, *and the flood-gates of Heaven were open'd.* Gen. VII. 11. Others, and thoſe many, by theſe *waters above* underſtand the cryſtallin Heaven (by *Gaſſendus* made double) by our author better named *cryſtallin ocean*, by its clearneſs reſembling water. *Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters.* Pſal. CIV. 3. *Praiſe him ye Heavens of Heavens, and ye waters above the Heavens.* Pſal. CXLVIII. 4. To this ſenſe our poet agrees, and thus infers, that as God built the earth, and founded it on waters *(ſtretched out the earth above the waters.* Pſal. CXXXVI. 6. *By the word of God the Heavens were of old, and the earth conſiſting out of the water and in the water.* 2 Pet. III. 5.) ſo alſo he eſtabliſh'd the whole frame of the heavenly orbs, in a calm cryſtallin ſea ſurrounding it, leſt the neighbourhood of the unruly Chaos ſhould diſturb it. *But all ſearch in works ſo wonderful, ſo diſtant and undiſcernable, as well as undemonſtrable, is quite confounded.* Hume.

274. *And Heav'n he nam'd the firmament:*] So Gen. I. 8. *And God call'd the firmament Heaven.* But it may ſeem ſtrange if the *firmament* means the *air* and *atmoſphere*, that the *air* ſhould be called *Heaven:* but ſo it is frequently in the language

The earth was form'd, but in the womb as yet
Of waters, embryon immature involv'd,
Appear'd not: over all the face of the earth
Main ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warm
Prolific humor ſoft'ning all her globe,
Fermented the great mother to conceive,
Satiate with genial moiſture, when God ſaid
Be gather'd now ye waters under Heaven
Into

guage of the Hebrews and in the ſtile of Scripture. In this very chapter, ver. 20. it is ſaid *fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* So in Pſal. CIV. 12. *By them ſhall the fowls of the Heaven have their habitation, which ſing among the branches.* And Mat. VI. 26. what we tranſlate *the fowls of the air* is in the original *the fowls of Heaven,* τα πετεινα του ουρανου. So again, Rev. XIX. 17. *the fowls that fly in the midſt of Heaven.* And we read often in Scripture of *the rain of Heaven,* and *the clouds of Heaven.* The truth is there were three Heavens in the account of the Hebrews. Mention is made of *the third Heaven* 2 Cor. XII. 2. The firſt Heaven is the air, as we have ſhown, wherein the clouds move and the birds fly; the ſecond is the ſtarry Heaven, and the third Heaven is the habitation of the Angels and the ſeat of God's glory. Milton is ſpeaking here of the firſt Heaven, as he mentions the others in other places.

282. ——*God ſaid*
Be gather'd now ye waters under Heaven
Into one place, and let dry land appear.] This is again exactly copied from Moſes; *And God ſaid, Let the waters under the Heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was ſo.* Gen. I. 9. *And it was ſo* is very ſhort in Moſes; Milton inlarges upon it, as the ſubject will admit ſome fine ſtrokes of poetry, and ſeems to have had his eye upon the CIVth Pſalm, which is likewiſe a divine hymn in praiſe of the creation, 6th and following verſes. *Thou coveredſt the earth with the deep; the waters ſtood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled, at the voice of thy thunder they haſted away. They go up by the mountains, they go down by the valleys unto the place which thou haſt founded for them,* &c. We ſuppoſe that we need not deſire the reader to remark the beautiful numbers in the following verſes of the poem, how they ſeem to riſe with the riſing mountains, and to ſink again with the falling waters.

285. *Im-*

Into one place, and let dry land appear.
Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave
Into the clouds, their tops aſcend the ſky:
So high as heav'd the tumid hills, ſo low
Down ſunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
Capacious bed of waters: thither they
Haſted with glad precipitance, uproll'd
As drops on duſt conglobing from the dry;
Part riſe in cryſtal wall, or ridge direct,
For haſte; ſuch flight the great command impreſs'd
On the ſwift floods: as armies at the call
Of trumpet (for of armies thou haſt heard)
Troop to their ſtandard, ſo the watry throng,
Wave rolling after wave, where way they found,

If

285. *Immediately the mountains &c.*] We have the ſame elevation of thought in the third day, when the mountains were brought forth, and the deep was made. We have alſo the riſing of the whole vegetable world deſcribed in this day's work, which is filled with all the graces that other poets have laviſh'd on their deſcription of the ſpring, and leads the reader's imagination into a theatre equally ſurpriſing and beautiful. *Addiſon.*

299. *If fleep, with torrent rapture,*] I have ſeen a marginal reading *with torrent rupture*, as in ver. 419. we have *burſting with kindly rupture*. But we may underſtand *torrent rapture* in the ſame manner as *glad precipitance*, ver. 291.

303. *And on the waſhy ooſe deep channels wore;*
Eaſy, ere God had bid the ground be dry, &c.] The earth was juſt now emerg'd from the waters in which it had been wrapt; 'twas therefore all one great waſhy ooſe, ſlime and mud. In this ſoft earth deep channels were eaſily worn by the ſtreaming water, 'till 'twas dry every where

If ſteep, with torrent rapture, if through plain,
Soft-ebbing; nor withſtood them rock or hill,
But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
With ſerpent error wand'ring, found their way,
And on the waſhy ooſe deep channels wore;
Eaſy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,
All but within thoſe banks, where rivers now
Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
The dry land, earth, and the great receptacle
Of congregated waters he call'd ſeas:
And ſaw that it was good, and ſaid, Let th' earth
Put forth the verdant graſs, herb yielding ſeed,
And fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind,
Whoſe ſeed is in herſelf upon the earth.
He ſcarce had ſaid, when the bare earth, till then
Deſert

where but within the banks, the bounds ſet to the rivers, where they now perpetually draw along after them their moiſt train. The rivers are imagin'd as perſons of great quality, the length of their robe training after them;

——where rivers now
Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.

You cannot read it otherwiſe than ſlowly, and ſo as to give your mind a picture of the thing deſcrib'd. Many examples of the like kind are to be found in our author and all good poets. *Richardſon.*

307. *The dry land, earth,* &c.] Theſe are again the words of Geneſis form'd into verſe. Gen. I. 10, 11. *And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters called he ſeas: and God ſaw that it was good. And God ſaid, Let the earth bring forth graſs, the herb yielding ſeed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whoſe ſeed is in itſelf upon the earth.* But when he comes to the deſcriptive part, he then opens a finer vein of poetry.

Deſert and bare, unſightly, unadorn'd,
Brought forth the tender graſs, whoſe verdure clad
Her univerſal face with pleaſant green,
Then herbs of every leaf, that ſudden flow'rd
Opening their various colors, and made gay
Her boſom ſmelling ſweet: and theſe ſcarce blown,
Forth floriſh'd thick the cluſtring vine, forth crept
The ſmelling gourd, up ſtood the corny reed
Imbattel'd in her field, and th' humble ſhrub,
And buſh with frizled hair implicit: laſt
Roſe as in dance the ſtately trees, and ſpread
Their branches hung with copious fruit, or gemm'd
Their

321. *The ſmelling gourd,*] A mere miſtake of the printer: the author gave it *The ſwelling gourd*; as Propertius, IV. II. 43.

Cæruleus cucumis *tumidoque cucurbita* ventre.

Thoſe, that ſtifly maintain that *ſmelling* was Milton's word and interpret it the *melon*, ſeem not to attend, that he had the word *ſmelling* two lines before, and would not have doubled it ſo ſoon again: and that he does not name here any particular plant, but whole tribes and ſpecies: the vine, the gourd, the reed, the ſhrub, the buſh, the tree. *Gourds* are as numerous a family, as moſt of the other, and include the *melon* within the general name; which tho' it ſmells, it ſwells likewiſe. *Bentley.*

Dr. Bentley very juſtly reads here *The ſwelling gourd:* and to the reaſons which he gives, may be added, that Milton here aſſigns to each of the other tribes or ſpecies, an epithet which ſuits with all the ſame ſpecies: but *ſmelling*, tho' it ſuits with ſome kinds of the *gourd*, does not ſuit with all the particulars of that tribe, as *ſwelling* does. *Pearce.* The miſtake was eaſy of *w* for *m:* and Dr. Bentley's emendation is certainly right; and to the authority which he has brought from Propertius we may add another from Virgil, Georg. IV. 121.

——tortuſque per herbam
Creſceret in ventrem cucumis.

But we have not alter'd the text, as the common reading makes ſenſe, tho' not ſuch good ſenſe as the other.

321.—*the*

Their bloſſoms: with high woods the hills were crown'd,
With tufts the valleys, and each fountain ſide,
With borders long the rivers: that earth now
Seem'd like to Heav'n, a ſeat where Gods might dwell,
Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
Her ſacred ſhades: though God had yet not rain'd
Upon the earth, and man to till the ground
None was, but from the earth a dewy miſt
Went up and water'd all the ground, and each
Plant of the field, which ere it was in th' earth
God made, and every herb, before it grew

On

321. —— *the corny reed*] The horny reed ſtood upright among the undergrowth of nature, like a grove of ſpears or a battalion with its ſpikes aloft. *Corneus* [Latin] of or like horn, Virg. Æn. III. 22.

Forte fuit juxta tumulus, quo *cornea* ſummo
Virgulta, et denſis haſtilibus horrida myrtus. *Hume.*

323. —— *with frizled hair implicit:*] *Hair*, *coma* in Latin, is uſed for leaves, twigs and branches, and *implicit* ſignifies intangled. The ſubject is low, and therefore he is forc'd to raiſe the expreſſion.

325. —— *or gemm'd*
Their bloſſoms:] Put forth their bloſſoms, of *gemmare* [Latin] to bud forth. *Hume.*

Dr. Bentley thinks it plain that Milton gave it or *gemm'd with bloſſoms*; taking *gemm'd* for a participle as *hung* is. But *gemm'd* may be a verb, as *ſpread* is. And to *gem their bloſſoms* is an expreſſion of the ſame poetical caſt with that in IV. 219. *blooming ambroſial fruit.* Pearce.

331. —— *though God had yet not rain'd* &c.] This is not taken, as the reſt, from the firſt, but from the ſecond Chapter of Geneſis; but the poet was ſtudious to weave in all that Moſes had written of the creation. Gen. II. 4, 5, 6. *In the day that the Lord God made the Earth and the Heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not cauſed it to rain upon the earth, and there*

On the green ſtem; God ſaw that it was good:
So ev'n and morn recorded the third day.
Again th' Almighty ſpake, Let there be lights
High in th' expanſe of Heaven to divide
The day from night; and let them be for ſigns,
For ſeaſons, and for days, and circling years,
And let them be for lights as I ordain
Their office in the firmament of Heaven
To give light on the earth; and it was ſo.
And God made two great lights, great for their uſe
To Man, the greater to have rule by day,

The

was not a man to till the ground: but there went up a miſt from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

338. *So ev'n and morn recorded the third day.*] *Recorded*, celebrated, caus'd to be remember'd. This was done by the *even and morning chorus* (ver. 275.) with *evening harps and matin* (ver. 450.) What is done by the voices and inſtruments is poetically aſcrib'd to the time in which they were employ'd. *Richardſon.*

339. *Again th' Almighty ſpake, Let there be lights* &c.] Gen. I. 14, 15. *And God ſaid, Let there be lights in the firmament of the Heaven, to divide the day from the night; and let them be for ſigns, and for ſeaſons, and for days, and years: And let them be for lights in the firmament of the Heaven, to give light upon the earth: and it was ſo.* We ſee, when he makes the divine Perſon ſpeak, he ſtill keeps cloſe to Scripture; but afterwards he indulges a greater latitude of thought, and gives freer ſcope to his imagination.

346. *And God made two great lights,*] The ſeveral glories of the Heavens make their appearance on the fourth day. *Addiſon.* The very words of Moſes, *And God made two great lights*; not that they were greater than all other ſtars and planets, but are only greater lights with reference to Man, and therefore Milton judiciouſly adds,

——*great for their uſe*
To Man, the greater to have rule by day,
The leſs by night altern;

that is alternate, a word added to Moſes his account, as *in their viciſſitude*

The leſs by night altern; and made the ſtars,
And ſet them in the firmament of Heaven
To' illuminate the earth, and rule the day
In their viciſſitude, and rule the night,
And light from darkneſs to divide. God ſaw,
Surveying his great work, that it was good:
For of celeſtial bodies firſt the ſun
A mighty ſphere he fram'd, unlightſome firſt,
Though of ethereal mold: then form'd the moon
Globoſe, and every magnitude of ſtars,
And ſow'd with ſtars the Heav'n thick as a field:

Of

ſitude is afterwards; *the greater light to rule the day, and the leſſer light to rule the night: he made the ſtars alſo. And God ſet them in the firmament of the Heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day, and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkneſs: and God ſaw that it was good.* Gen. I. 16, 17, 18. So far, we ſee, he keeps cloſe to Scripture, but then he lanches out, and ſays that of *celeſtial bodies the ſun* was *firſt fram'd*, and *then the moon and ſtars*, obſerving this order of creation, we ſuppoſe, according to the degrees of uſefulneſs to men. The ſun, he ſays, was *unlightſome firſt*; and it is moſt probable, that the bodies of the ſun and moon *&c.* were formed at the ſame time as the body of the earth on the firſt day, but they were not made thoſe complete luminous bodies, they did not ſhine out in their lu and glory till the fourth day, t air perhaps or atmoſphere not being ſufficiently clear'd before to tranſmit their rays to the earth. Milton's hypotheſis is different. He ſays that the *light was tranſplanted from her cloudy ſhrine or tabernacle*, wherein ſhe had ſojourn'd the three firſt days, and on the fourth day was *plac'd in the ſun's orb*, which was become *now the great palace of light*. But let it be remember'd that this is all hypotheſis, and that the Scripture determines nothing one way or other.

358. *And ſow'd with ſtars the Heav'n thick as a field:*] This alluſion is extremely elegant. Manil. V. 726.

Tunc conferta licet cœli fulgentia templa

Of light by far the greater part he took,
Tranſplanted from her cloudy ſhrine, and plac'd
In the ſun's orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gather'd beams, great palace now of light.
Hither as to their fountain other ſtars
Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
And

Cernere ſeminibus denſis, totiſque micare
Floribus:

where Milton ſeems to have read *conſerta*, which is much more beautiful; and his reading ſeems to be proved by the word *denſis*, which would be unneceſſary, and even bad with the word *conſerta*.
Richardſon.

361. —*made porous to receive*
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gather'd beams,] Porous yet firm. Milton ſeems to have taken this thought from what is ſaid of the Bologna ſtone, which being plac'd in the light will imbibe, and for ſome time retain it ſo as to inlighten a dark place. *Richardſon.*

362. *And drink the liquid light,*] Dr. Bentley finds fault with the word *light* being repeated ſo often, and in two places ſubſtitutes ſome other expreſſion in the room of it; but when Milton was deſcribing the creation of light, it was better (as Dr. Pearce judiciouſly obſerves) to keep ſtrictly to the word, tho' frequently repeated, than to vary it by phraſes and circumlocutions.

364. *Hither as to their fountain other ſtars*] So the ſun is called by Lucretius, V. 282. the fountain of light, of *liquid light*.

Largus item liquidi fons luminis, æthereus ſol
Irrigat aſſidue cœlum candore recenti:

and by *other ſtars* are meant the planets, as appears by mentioning particularly *the morning planet* Venus,

And hence the morning planet gilds her horns;

In the firſt edition it was *his horns*, but the author in the ſecond edition ſoften'd it into *her horns*, which is certainly properer for the planet Venus, tho' Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton have ſtill printed it *his horns*.

370. *Firſt in his eaſt the glorious lamp was ſeen,*] It is indeed a little inaccurate to make this as well as the former verſe conclude with the word *ſeen*; but this is not ſo bad as when both verſes rime together, as in II. 220.

This

And hence the morning planet gilds her horns;
By tincture or reflection they augment
Their ſmall peculiar, though from human ſight
So far remote, with diminution ſeen.
Firſt in his eaſt the glorious lamp was ſeen,
Regent of day, and all th' horizon round
Inveſted with bright rays, jocond to run

His

This horror will grow mild, this darkneſs light;
Beſides what hope the never-ending flight;

And in VI. 34.

—— far worſe to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care:

and 709.

By ſacred unction, thy deſerved right.
Go then thou mightieſt in thy Father's might:

and in XI. 230.

One of the heav'nly hoſt, and by his gate
None of the meaneſt, ſome great potentate.

and 597.

The bent of nature; which he thus expreſs'd.
True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel bleſt.

There are perhaps two or three other inſtances in the poem: but the jingle of the rime is pretty well avoided by the pauſe in the verſes, or by their running into one another. However it would have been more artificial, if the ſtructure had been different. We know very well that there are parallel inſtances even in Homer and Virgil; but tho' ſome may think them beauties in Greek and Latin, we think them none in an Engliſh poem profeſſedly written in blank verſe. In all ſuch caſes we muſt ſay with Horace, De Arte Poet. 351.

Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

372. —— *jocond to run*
His longitude through Heav'ns' high road;] Dr. Bentley calls *longitude* here mere nonſenſe; and therefore reads *His long carreer through* &c. But we muſt not part with *longitude* ſo eaſily: it ſignifies the ſun's courſe from eaſt to weſt in a ſtrait and direct line: and we find Milton uſing the word after much the ſame manner in III. 576. This paſſage alludes to Pſal. XIX. 5. where it is ſaid of the ſun, that *he rejoiceth as a giant to run his courſe*. Pearce.

His longitude through Heav'n's high road; the gray
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danc'd
Shedding ſweet influence: leſs bright the moon
But oppoſit in level'd weſt was ſet
His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him, for other light ſhe needed none
In that aſpect, and ſtill that diſtance keeps
Till night, then in the eaſt her turn ſhe ſhines,
Revolv'd on Heav'n's great axle, and her reign
With

373. ——*the gray*
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him
danc'd
Shedding ſweet influence:] Theſe are beautiful images, and very much reſemble the famous picture of the morning by Guido, where the ſun is repreſented in his chariot, with the Aurora flying before him, ſhedding flowers, and ſeven beautiful nymph-like figures dancing before and about his chariot, which are commonly taken for the Hours, but poſſibly may be the *Pleiades*, as they are ſeven in number, and it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why the Hours ſhould be ſignified by that number particularly. The picture is on a cieling at Rome; but there are copies of it in England, and an excellent print by Jac. Frey. The *Pleiades* are ſeven ſtars in the neck of the conſtellation Taurus, which riſing about the time of the vernal equinox, are called by the Latins *Vergiliæ*. Our poet therefore in ſaying that the *Pleiades* danc'd before the ſun at his creation, intimates very plainly that the creation was in the ſpring according to the common opinion. Virg. Georg. II. 338, &c.

——Ver illud erat; ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
Cum primæ lucem pecudes hauſere, &c.

And when he farther adds *ſhedding ſweet influence*, it is in alluſion to Job XXXVIII. 31. *Canſt thou bind the ſweet influences of Pleiades?*

387. *And God ſaid*, &c.] This and eleven verſes following are almoſt word for word from Geneſis I. 20, 21, 22. *And God ſaid, Let the waters bring forth abundantly, the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of Heaven. And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after*

With thouſand leſſer lights dividual holds,
With thouſand thouſand ſtars, that then appear'd
Spangling the hemiſphere: then firſt adorn'd
With their bright luminaries that ſet and roſe,
Glad evening and glad morn crown'd the fourth day.
And God ſaid, Let the waters generate
Reptil with ſpawn abundant, living ſoul:
And let fowl fly above the earth, with wings
Diſplay'd on the' open firmament of Heaven.

And

after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God ſaw that it was good. And God bleſſed them, ſaying, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the ſeas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. This is the general account of the fifth day's creation, and the poet afterwards branches it out into the ſeveral particulars.

388. *Reptil with ſpawn abundant, living ſoul:*] By *reptil* is meant *creeping thing*; and according to the marginal reading of our Engliſh verſion, Gen. I. 20. (which follows the LXX verſion here) *creeping things* are ſaid to have been created on the fifth day. Le Clerc too with the generality of interpreters renders the Hebrew word by *reptil*. To this Dr. Bentley objects that *creeping things* were created on the ſixth day, according to the account given us by Moſes and by Milton himſelf. But by *reptil* or *creeping thing* here Milton means all ſuch creatures as move in the waters, (ſee Le Clerc's note on Gen. I. 20.) and by *creeping thing* mention'd in the ſixth day's creation he means *creeping things of the earth*; for ſo both in Milton's account, ver. 452. and in Gen. I. 24. the words *of the earth* are to be join'd in conſtruction to *creeping thing*. Hence the Doctor's objection is anſwer'd by ſaying that they were not the ſame *creeping things* which Milton mentions in the two places. But let us hear how the Doctor propoſes to mend the paſſage,

— Let the waters generate,
Replete with ſpawn abundant, living ſoul:

This reading cannot poſſibly be admitted without making Milton's words imply (contrary to the fact) that the *ſpawn* was præexiſtent to this fifth day's creation, and the waters were *replete* with it, before God ſaid *Let the waters generate* &c. *Pearce.*

400. *With*

And God created the great whales, and each
Soul living, each that crept, which plenteouſly
The waters generated by their kinds,
And every bird of wing after his kind;
And ſaw that it was good, and bleſs'd them, ſaying,
Be fruitful, multiply, and in the ſeas
And lakes and running ſtreams the waters fill;
And let the fowl be multiply'd, on th' earth.
Forthwith the ſounds and ſeas, each creek and bay
With fry innumerable ſwarm, and ſhoals
Of

400. *With fry innumerable ſwarm,* &c.] One would wonder how the poet could be ſo conciſe in his deſcription of the ſix days works, as to comprehend them within the bounds of an epiſode, and at the ſame time ſo particular, as to give us a lively idea of them. This is ſtill more remarkable in his account of the fifth and ſixth days, in which he has drawn out to our view the whole animal creation from the reptil to the behemoth. As the lion and the leviathan are two of the nobleſt productions in the world of living creatures, the reader will find a moſt exquiſite ſpirit of poetry in the account which our author gives us of them. The ſixth day concludes with the formation of Man, upon which the Angel takes occaſion, as he did after the battel in Heaven, to remind Adam of his obedience, which was the principal deſign of this his viſit. *Addiſon.*

402. —— *in ſculls that oft*
Bank the mid ſea:] Shoals of fiſh ſo vaſt, that they appear like mighty banks in the midſt of the ſea. *Sculls* and *ſhoals* are vaſt multitudes of fiſh, of the Saxon *ſceole*, an aſſembly. *Hume.*

Shoals *in* ſculls ſeems an odd expreſſion; would not ſhoals *and* ſculls be better?

404. ——— *and through groves*
Of coral ſtray,] *Coral* is a production of the ſea, and is commonly rank'd among the number of marine plants. The learned Kercher ſuppoſes entire foreſts of it to grow at the bottom of the ſea, which may juſtify our author's expreſſion of *groves of coral.* The Ancients believ'd that it was ſoft under the water and harden'd in the air. Ovid has expreſs'd this notion very prettily in Met. IV. 750.

Nunc

Of fiſh that with their fins and ſhining ſcales
Glide under the green wave, in ſculls that oft
Bank the mid ſea: part ſingle or with mate
Graze the ſea weed their paſture, and through groves
Of coral ſtray, or ſporting with quick glance
Show to the ſun their wav'd coats dropt with gold,
Or in their pearly ſhells at eaſe, attend
Moiſt nutriment, or under rocks their food
In jointed armour watch: on ſmooth the ſeal,
And bended dolphins play: part huge of bulk
Wallow-

Nunc quoque curaliis eadem natura remanſit,
Duritiem tacto capiant ut ab aëre; quodque
Vimen in æquore erat, fiat ſuper æquora ſaxum.

The pliant ſprays of coral yet declare
Their ſtifning nature, when expos'd to air,
Thoſe ſprays, which did like bending oſiers move,
Snatch'd from their element, obdurate prove,
And ſhrubs beneath the waves, grow ſtones above. Euſden.

But later diſcoveries have ſhown, that only the extremities of the branches are a little ſoft in the water, and ſoon petrify in the air.

409. *In jointed armour*] The reader cannot but be pleas'd with the beauty of this metaphor. The ſhells of lobſters, *&c.* and armour very much reſemble one another; and in the civil wars there was a regiment of horſe ſo completely arm'd, that they were call'd Sir Arthur Haſlerig's *lobſters*. Poſſibly Milton might be thinking of them at this very time.

409. *—on ſmooth the ſeal,*
And bended dolphins play:] The *ſeal* or ſea-calf and the *dolphin* are obſerved to ſport on *ſmooth* ſeas in calm weather. The dolphin is called *bended*, not that he really is ſo more than any other fiſh, but only appears crooked, as he forms an arch by leaping out of the water and inſtantly dropping into it again with his head foremoſt. Ovid therefore deſcribes him *tergo delphina recurvo*. Faſt. II. 113. and his ſportive nature is alluded to by Virgil, Æn. V. 594.

Delphinum ſimiles; qui per maria humida nando
Carpathium Libycumque ſecant, *luduntque per undas.*

And

Wallowing unwieldy', enormous in their gate
Tempeſt the ocean: there leviathan,
Hugeſt of living creatures, on the deep
Stretch'd like a promontory ſleeps or ſwims
And ſeems a moving land, and at his gills
Draws in, and at his trunk ſpouts out a ſea.
Mean while the tepid caves, and fens and ſhores
Their brood as numerous hatch, from th' egg that ſoon
Burſting

And how ſmooth is the verſe that deſcribes the ſeal and dolphin ſporting upon the ſmooth water!

——on ſmooth the ſeal
And bended dolphins play:

It is much finer than if it had all been expreſs'd in a ſingle line. The verſe is bent, as I may ſay, to be better ſuited to the bended dolphin: as in the rough meaſures following one almoſt ſees porpoiſes and other unwieldy creatures tumbling about in the ocean.

412. *Tempeſt the ocean:*] Milton has here with very great art and propriety adapted the Italian verb *tempeſtare*. He could not poſſibly have expreſſed this idea in mere Engliſh without ſome kind of circumlocution, which would have weaken'd and enervated that energy of expreſſion which this part of his deſcription requir'd. Beſides no word could be more proper in the beginning of the verſe to make it labour like the troubled ocean, which he is painting out. *Thyer.*

412. —— *there leviathan,*] The beſt critics and commentators upon Job by the *leviathan* underſtand the *crocodile*, and Milton in ſeveral particulars deſcribes the *leviathan* like the author of the book of Job, and yet by others it ſeems as if he meant the *whale*. See the note upon Book I. 200.

416. —— *and at his trunk ſpouts out a ſea.*]

—Et acceptum patulis mare naribus effiant. Ovid. Met. III. 686.

421. *They ſumm'd their pens,*] *Pens* from *penna* a feather. *Summ'd* is a term in falconry; a hawk is ſaid to be full ſumm'd when his feathers are grown to their full ſtrength. So Par. Reg. I. 14.

With proſp'rous wing *full ſumm'd.*
Richardſon.

422. *With clang deſpis'd the ground, under a cloud*
In proſpect;] That is, the birds were ſo many that the ground, from whence they roſe, would have appear'd to be under a cloud, if one had ſeen it at a diſtance: in this ſenſe we have ver. 555. *how it* (the world)

Burſting with kindly rupture forth diſclos'd
Their callow young, but feather'd ſoon and fledge
They ſumm'd their pens, and ſoaring th' air ſublime
With clang deſpis'd the ground, under a cloud
In proſpect; there the eagle and the ſtork
On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build:
Part looſly wing the region, part more wiſe
In common, rang'd in figure wedge their way,
Intelligent

world) *ſhow'd* in proſpect *from his throne.* Pearce.

Under a cloud, the ground being ſhaded by the multitude of birds ſeem'd as when a cloud paſſes over it. *Richardſon.*

423.—*there the eagle and the ſtork*
On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build:] Theſe birds build *their eyries*, that is their neſts, in ſuch high places. In Job XXXIX. 27, 28. it is ſaid particularly of the eagle, *Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her neſt on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the ſtrong place.* And Pliny ſays of them, Nidificant in petris et arboribus. L. 10. Sect. 4.

426.——*rang'd in figure wedge their way,*] Pliny has deſcribed certain birds of paſſage, flying in the form of a wedge, and ſpreading wider and wider. Thoſe behind reſt upon thoſe before, till the leaders being tired are in their turn received into the rear. A tergo ſenſim dilatante ſe cuneo porrigitur agmen, largèque impellenti præbetur auræ. Colla imponunt præcedentibus: feſſos duces ad terga recipiunt. Nat. Hiſt. L. 10. Sect. 32. But as this migration of birds is one of the moſt wonderful inſtincts of nature, it may be proper to add ſome better authorities to explain and juſtify our author than Pliny. Jerem. VIII. 7. takes notice of this remarkable inſtinct; *Yea the ſtork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the ſwallow obſerve the time of their coming*, &c. So very *intelligent* are they *of ſeaſons*. And as Milton inſtances in the *crane* particularly, we will quote what the ingenious author of *Spectacle de la Nature* ſays upon this occaſion. Dial. XI. "As to wild "ducks and cranes, both the one "and the other at the approach of "winter fly in queſt of more favora-"ble climates. They all aſſemble at "a certain day like ſwallows and "quails. They decamp at the ſame "time, and 'tis very agreeable to "obſerve their flight. They gene-"rally range themſelves in a long "column like an I, or in two lines "united

Intelligent of ſeaſons, and ſet forth
Their aery caravan high over ſeas
Flying, and over lands with mutual wing
Eaſing their flight; ſo ſteers the prudent crane
Her annual voyage, borne on winds; the air
Flotes,

" united in a point like a V re-
" verſed." And ſo as Milton ſays,

—rang'd in figure wedge their way.

" The duck or quail, who forms
" the point, cuts the air, and faci-
" litates a paſſage to thoſe who fol-
" low; but he is charged with
" this commiſſion only for a cer-
" tain time, at the concluſion of
" which he wheels into the rear,
" and another takes his poſt." And thus as Milton ſays,

——with mutual wing
Eaſing their flights.

435.—*nor then the ſolemn nightingale* &c.] Of all ſinging birds, we ſee that he inſtances in the *nightingale* particularly; and his fondneſs for this little bird is very remarkable, and he expreſſes it upon every occaſion. If the reader has not taken particular notice of it, he will be ſurpris'd as well as pleas'd to ſee in how many paſſages and with what admiration he ſpeaks of this charming ſongſter. He compares his own making verſes in his blindneſs to the nightingale's ſinging in the dark. III. 37.

Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, and in ſhadieſt covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal note.

In that charming deſcription of evening, IV. 598. nothing can be more charming than what is ſaid of the nightingale.

Silence accompanied; for beaſt and bird,
They to their graſſy couch, theſe to their neſts
Were ſlunk; all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous deſcant ſung;
Silence was pleas'd.

In that tender ſpeech of Eve's to Adam, IV. 639.

With thee converſing I forget all time, &c.

amongſt other pleaſing images he mentions twice

—— the ſilent night
With this her ſolemn bird.

And Adam and Eve are made to ſleep *lull'd by nightingales*, IV. 771.

Theſe, lull'd by nightingales embracing ſlept,
And

Flotes, as they paſs, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes:
From branch to branch the ſmaller birds with ſong
Solac'd the woods, and ſpread their painted wings
Till ev'n, nor then the ſolemn nightingale
Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her ſoft lays:

Others

And on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof
Show'rd roſes, which the morn repair'd.

And when the evil Spirit tempts Eve in her dream, he mentions this as one of the ſtrongeſt temptations to induce her to walk out in the cool evening. V. 38.

Why ſleep'ſt thou Eve? now is the pleaſant time,
The cool, the ſilent, ſave where ſilence yields
To the night warbling bird, that now awake,
Tunes ſweeteſt his love-labor'd ſong.

And here when the poet is deſcribing the creation of all the ſorts and ſpecies of fowl, of ſinging birds he particularizes the nightingale alone.

From branch to branch the ſmaller birds with ſong
Solac'd the woods, and ſpread their painted wings
Till ev'n, nor then the ſolemn nightingale
Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her ſoft lays.

And upon Adam's and Eve's firſt coming together the nightingale ſung the epithalamium or wedding ſong, VIII. 518.

—The amorous bird of night
Sung ſpouſal, and bid haſte the evening ſtar
On his hill top to light the bridal lamp.

Other poets mention the nightingale perhaps by way of ſimile, but none of them dwells, or delights to dwell, ſo much upon it as our author. And he expreſſes the ſame fondneſs and admiration in other parts of his works. We will give an inſtance out of the Il Penſeroſo, as it is rather more particular than the reſt.

And the mute ſilence hiſt along,
'Leſs Philomel will deing a ſong,
In her ſweeteſt, ſaddeſt plight,
Smoothing the rugged brow of night.
Sweet bird that ſhunn'ſt the noiſe of folly,
Moſt muſical, moſt melancholy!
Thee chauntreſs oft the woods among
I woo to hear thy even-ſong;
And miſſing thee, I walk unſeen
On the dry ſmooth-ſhaven green,
To behold the wand'ring moon
Riding near her higheſt noon.

And in his ſonnets the firſt is addreſs'd *To the nightingale.*

438.—*and*

Others on ſilver lakes and rivers bath'd
Their downy breaſt; the ſwan with arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
Her ſtate with oary feet; yet oft they quit
The dank, and riſing on ſtiff pennons, tower
The mid aereal ſky: Others on ground
Walk'd firm; the creſted cock whoſe clarion ſounds
The ſilent hours, and th' other whoſe gay train
Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue
Of rainbows and ſtarry' eyes. The waters thus
With fiſh repleniſh'd, and the air with fowl,
Evening and morn ſolemniz'd the fifth day.

The

438.—*the ſwan with arched neck*] The ancient poets have not hit upon this beauty, ſo laviſh as they have been in their deſcriptions of the ſwan. Homer calls the ſwan long-neck'd δολιχοδειρος, but how much more *pittoreſque* if he had arched this length of neck! *her wings mantling proudly*, her wings are then a little detach'd from her ſides, rais'd and ſpread as a mantle, which ſhe does with an apparent pride, as is alſo ſeen in her whole figure, attitude and motion. *Richardſon.*

Dr. Bentley wonders that he ſhould make the ſwan of the feminine gender, contrary to both Greek and Latin. I ſuppoſe he did it becauſe he thought it would be more agreeable to the ear. *Rows his ſtate* ſounds rather too rough.

443.—*the creſted cock*—] So Ovid calls him *criſtatus ales*. Faſt. I. 455.

Nocte Deæ Nocti criſtatus cæditur ales,
Quod tepidum vigili provocat ore diem.

450.—*when God ſaid*, &c.] So Gen. I. 24. *And God ſaid, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beaſt of the earth after his kind.* We obſerv'd before, that when Milton makes the divine Perſon ſpeak, he keeps cloſely to Scripture. Now what we render *living creature* is *living ſoul* in the Hebrew, which Milton uſually follows rather than our tranſlation; and *ſoul* it ſhould be here as in ver. 388. *living ſoul*, and 392. *ſoul living*. It is indeed *fowl* in all the printed copies.

Let th' earth bring forth *fowl*
living in her kind:

but

The ſixth, and of creation laſt aroſe
With evening harps and matin, when God ſaid,
Let th' earth bring forth ſoul living in her kind,
Cattel and creeping things, and beaſt of th' earth,
Each in their kind. The earth obey'd, and ſtrait
Opening her fertil womb teem'd at a birth
Innumerous living creatures, perfect forms,
Limb'd and full grown: out of the ground up roſe
As from his lair the wild beaſt where he wons
In foreſt wild, in thicket, brake, or den;
Among the trees in pairs they roſe, they walk'd:
The cattel in the fields and meadows green:
Thoſe

but Dr. Bentley, Dr. Pearce, Mr. Richardſon, and common ſenſe, all condemn this reading; it is manifeſtly nothing but an error of the preſs that has run through all the editions; for *fowl* were all created the day before, and not on this day. We have therefore reſtor'd the true genuin reading.

Let th' earth bring forth *ſoul* living in her kind:

We are very cautious in admitting any alterations into the text of Milton; but in correcting ſuch miſtakes as this we conceive we do no more than Milton himſelf would have us do; who, after the table of Errata in the firſt edition, ſays, *Other litteral faults the reader of himſelf may correct.* And for the ſame reaſon we agree with Dr. Bentley, that in the next verſe it ſhould be *creeping thing* rather than *things*, becauſe it is more conformable to the text of Scripture.

Cattel and *creeping thing*, and beaſt of th' earth.

456. — *out of the ground up roſe*
As from his lair the wild beaſt where he wons
In foreſt wild,] *Lair*, or *layer*, an old Saxon word ſignifying a *bed.* The uſe of this word is ſtill kept up among us, as when we call the different ſtrata or beds of earth, ſome of clay, ſome of chalk, ſome of ſtone *&c. lairs. Wons* is an old Saxon word ſignifying to *dwell* or *inhabit.* Dr. Bentley reads *In foreſt wide*, inſtead of *wild*, *wild beaſt* going before; but Milton does not diſlike ſuch a repetition of the ſame word.

Thoſe rare and ſolitary, theſe in flocks
Paſturing at once, and in broad herds upſprung.
The graſſy clods now calv'd, now half appear'd
The tawny lion, pawing to get free
His hinder parts, then ſprings as broke from bonds,
And rampant ſhakes his brinded mane; the ounce,
The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole
Riſing, the crumbled earth above them threw
In hillocs: the ſwift ſtag from under ground
Bore up his branching head: ſcarce from his mold
Behemoth

461. *Thoſe rare and ſolitary, theſe in flocks*] *Thoſe*, that is the wild beaſts mention'd in ver. 457. *theſe*, the tame, the *cattel*; and it is a very ſignal act of Providence that there are ſo few of the former ſort, and ſo many of the latter, for the uſe and ſervice of man.

462. ——*broad herds*] This will ſound a little ſtrange to the ear of an Engliſh reader, who muſt therefore be told that he follows Homer litterally. Iliad. XI. 678.

—αιπολια πολλὰ' αἰσσων.

Virgil hath a long herd, Æn. I. 186.

—et longum per valles paſcitur agmen. *Richardſon.*

463. *The graſſy clods now calv'd,*] Dr. Bentley quarrels with this expreſſion, and ſays that *calv'd* is a metaphor very heroical, eſpecially for wild beaſts. But as Dr. Pearce juſtly obſerves, to *calve* (from the Belgic word *Kalven*) ſignifies to bring forth: it is a general word, and does not relate to cows only; for *hinds* are ſaid to *calve* in Job XXXIX. 1. and Pſalm XXIX. 9. Mr. Addiſon particularly commends this metaphor: and the whole deſcription of the beaſts riſing out of the earth, tho' Dr. Bentley condemns it as an inſertion of the editor's, is certainly not only worthy of the genius of Milton, but may be eſteem'd a ſhining part of the poem. He ſuppoſes the beaſts to riſe out of the earth, *in perfect forms, limb'd and full grown*, as Raphael had painted this ſubject before in the Vatican; and he deſcribes their manner of riſing in figures and attitudes, and in numbers too, ſuited to their various natures.

467. *The libbard,*] The ſame as the leopard; a word uſed by Spenſer and the old poets, Faery Queen, B. I. Cant. 6. St. 25.

470. ——*ſcarce from his mold*
Behemoth biggeſt born of earth upheav'd

His

Behemoth biggeſt born of earth upheav'd
His vaſtneſs: fleec'd the flocks and bleating roſe,
As plants: ambiguous between ſea and land
The river horſe and ſcaly crocodile.
At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
Inſect or worm: thoſe wav'd their limber fans
For wings, and ſmalleſt lineaments exact
In all the liveries deck'd of ſummer's pride
With ſpots of gold and purple', azure and green:
Theſe as a line their long dimenſion drew,
Streaking

His vaſtneſs:] The numbers are excellent, and admirably expreſs the heavineſs and unwieldineſs of the *elephant*, for it is plainly the elephant that Milton means. *Behemoth* and *leviathan* are two creatures, deſcribed in the book of Job, and formerly the generality of interpreters underſtood by them the *elephant* and the *whale:* but the learned Bochart and other later critics have endevor'd to ſhow that *behemoth* is the *river horſe* and *leviathan* the *crocodile*. It ſeems as if Milton was of the former opinion by mentioning *leviathan* among the fiſhes, and *the river horſe and ſcaly crocodile*, ver. 474. as diſtinct from *behemoth* and *leviathan*; and there is ſurely authority ſufficient to juſtify a poet in that opinion. *Behemoth biggeſt born.* The allitteration, as the critics call it, is very remarkable, all the words beginning with *b*. We had another inſtance a little before in the production of the mountains, ver. 286.

—— and their *broad bare backs*
upheave
Into the clouds.

It is the ſame kind of beauty that is admir'd in Virgil, Æn. I. 61.

Hoc *metuens*, *molemque et montes* inſuper altos
Impoſuit.

It is the ſame ſtile of ſound, and the verſe labors as much with *broad bare backs* and *behemoth biggeſt born* as with *metuens*, *molem*, *montes*. And the labor of theſe lines appears greater in contraſt with the eaſe of the following meaſures, which deſcribe the leſſer animals ſpringing up as lightly and as thick as plants;

— fleec'd the flocks and bleating
roſe,
As plants.

478. —— *deck'd*] It is a verb here and not a participle —— *and deck'd their ſmalleſt lineaments exact in all the liveries* &c.

Streaking the ground with ſinuous trace; not all
Minims of nature; ſome of ſerpent kind,
Wondrous in length and corpulence, involv'd
Their ſnaky folds, and added wings. Firſt crept
The parſimonious emmet, provident
Of future, in ſmall room large heart inclos'd,
Pattern

481. —— *not all*
Minims of nature; ſome of ſerpent kind,
Wondrous in length and corpulence, involv'd
Their ſnaky folds, and added wings.] Theſe verſes Dr. Bentley rejects: he thinks them ſo plainly ſpurious, that (as he ſays) the editor is here caught in the forgery. Let us ſee whether this be the caſe or not. *Snaky*, he ſays, is mere tautology, i. e. *Serpents* involv'd *ſerpentin* folds. But is not *ſerpent* a more general word than *ſnake?* does it not include all the creeping kind, at leaſt ſeveral animals that are not *ſnakes* nor have *ſnaky folds?* If ſo, then the epithet *ſnaky* is no tautology. But what is *added wings*, ſays the Doctor? It means, had wings added to their long and corpulent bodies. Scarcely any thing is more common in poetry than to ſpeak after this manner, which repreſents the creature as doing that which is done to it. So in IX. 515. a ſhip is ſaid to *ſteer* and *ſhift her ſail*. So in Virgil's Georg. II. 535. it is ſaid of the city of Rome,

Septemque una ſibi muro circumdedit arces.

Did the city itſelf build the wall? no, but it had the wall built round its ſeven hills. If Milton afterwards, in ver. 495. *&c.* mentions the *ſerpent* again, he mentions a particular ſpecies of the ſerpent kind; and with a plain view to make Adam more mindful of that animal, which was to work his ruin and deſtruction. So that all the marks of forgery, which the Doctor diſcovers here, immediately diſappear upon a careful examination of the paſſage.

Pearce.

482. *Minims of nature;*] This word *minims* is form'd from the adjective *minima*, and in alluſion to the Vulgar Latin of Prov. XXX. 24. *Quatuor iſta ſunt* minima *terræ*. The word was in uſe before for an order of friers, *Minim*, *minimi*, ſo called from affected humility.

485. —— *provident*
Of future,] As Horace ſays, Sat. I. I. 35.

Haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.

in ſmall room large heart inclos'd, Georg. IV. 83.

Ingentes animos anguſto in pectore verſant.

It is there ſaid of the *bee*, and here applied to the *ant*.

487. *Pat-*

Pattern of juſt equality perhaps
Hereafter, join'd in her popular tribes
Of commonalty: ſwarming next appear'd
The female bee, that feeds her huſband drone
Deliciouſly, and builds her waxen cells
With honey ſtor'd: the reſt are numberleſs,
And

487. *Pattern of juſt equality*] We ſee that our author upon occaſion diſcovers his principles of government. He inlarges upon the ſame thought in another part of his works. "*Go to the ant, thou ſluggard*, ſaith "Solomon; *conſider her ways and* "*be wiſe*; *which having no prince*, "*ruler, or lord, provides her meat* "*in the ſummer, and gathers her food* "*in the harveſt*: which evidently "ſhows us, that they who think the "nation undone without a king, "tho' they look grave or haughty, "have not ſo much true ſpirit and "underſtanding in them as a piſ-"mire: neither are theſe diligent "creatures hence concluded to live "in lawleſs anarchy, or that com-"mended, but are ſet the examples "to imprudent and ungovern'd "men, of a frugal and ſelf-go-"verning democracy or common-"wealth; ſafer and more thriving "in the joint providence and coun-"ſel of many induſtrious equals, "than under the ſingle domination "of one imperious lord." See his *Ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a free commonwealth*, p. 591. Edit. 1738. He adds *perhaps hereafter*, as he had no hopes of it at that time. He commends the ants or emmets for living in a republic, as the bees are ſaid to do under a monarchy; and therefore Mr. Pope ſays, Eſſay on Man, III. 186.

The ants republic, and the realm of bees.

490. *The female bee, that feeds her huſband drone*
Deliciouſly, and builds her waxen cells] Dr. Bentley would throw out part of theſe verſes and read thus,

Th' induſtrious bee that builds her waxen cells.

The *drone* (ſays he) is not the *bee*'s huſband: and that *bees* are all *females*, ſeems an idle and idiotical notion, againſt the courſe and rule of nature. But (however that be) both thoſe opinions had been ſtrenuouſly maintain'd by Mr. Charles Butler in the fourth chapter of his curious treatiſe upon bees, intitled *The Feminine Monarchie*, printed in 1634: and it ſeems to have been the prevailing doctrin in Milton's days. No need then to ſuſpect the editor's hand here. *Pearce.*

There has been lately publiſh'd in French a natural hiſtory of bees, *Hiſtoire naturelle des abeilles* &c.

And thou their natures know'ſt, and gav'ſt them names,
Needleſs to thee repeated; nor unknown
The ſerpent ſubtleſt beaſt of all the field,
Of huge extent ſometimes, with brazen eyes
And hairy mane terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.
Now Heav'n in all her glory ſhone, and roll'd
Her motions, as the great firſt Mover's hand
Firſt

Paris 1744. wherein the curious author has collected all that Swammerdam and others have written upon the ſubject. He ſays that in a hive there is commonly one queen, and perhaps a thouſand males call'd drones, and near 20000 working bees of no ſex that can be diſtinguiſh'd. The queen or mother bee is longer than the reſt, and will produce one year with another from thirty to forty thouſand bees. The drones or huſbands of this queen, except when they are paying their duty to her, live idly and luxuriouſly upon the fineſt honey, whereas the common bees live in great meaſure upon wax; and the queen herſelf will condeſcend to wait upon the drones, and bring them honey; and ſo, as Milton expreſſes it, *feeds her huſband drone deliciouſly*.

497. *And hairy mane terrific,*] Virgil in like manner attributes a mane to ſerpents, Æn. II. 206.

——*jubæque*
Sanguineæ exuperant undas.

505. *There wanted yet the maſter work*, &c.] The author here remember'd and copied Ovid, Met. I. 76.

Sanctius his animal, mentiſque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera poſſet.——
——Finxit in effigiem moderantûm cuncta Deorum.
Pronaque cum ſpectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini ſublime dedit; cœlumque tueri
Juſſit, et erectos ad ſidera tollere vultus.

A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man deſign'd:
Conſcious of thought, of more capacious breaſt,
For empire form'd, and fit to rule the reſt.—
—Thus while the mute creation downward bend
Their ſight, and to their earthly mother tend,
Man

Firſt wheel'd their courſe; earth in her rich attire
Conſummate lovely ſmil'd; air, water, earth,
By fowl, fiſh, beaſt, was flown, was ſwum, was walk'd
Frequent; and of the ſixth day yet remain'd;
There wanted yet the maſter work, the end
Of all yet done; a creature who not prone
And brute as other creatures, but indued
With ſanctity of reaſon, might erect

His

Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary ſkies.
Dryden.

506. —*a creature who not prone*
And brute as other creatures, but indued
With ſanctity of reaſon,] Dr. Bentley finds great fault here, and alters the verſes thus,

— a creature who not prone
To earth, nor mute, nor beſtial, but indued
With ſanctity, *ſpeech,* reaſon.

I agree with him that Milton had Ovid in view, when he compos'd theſe verſes. Let us ſee then what are the Doctor's objections againſt them. *Prone,* ſays he, barely put, does not expreſs what Milton aim'd at from Ovid, *viz.*

Pronaque cum ſpectent animalia cætera terram.

It is true, that Ovid ſays more than *prone:* but Milton, who was perfectly ſkill'd in the force of Latin words, knew that *pronus* in Latin ſufficiently expreſs'd what Ovid thro' a redundancy of ſtile had expreſs'd by two more words *ſpectent terram.* Any good Latin dictionary will furniſh the reader with examples of *pronus* us'd in this ſenſe without any additional word; and Milton himſelf uſes it ſo again in VIII. 433. Why, *as other creatures?* ſays the Doctor, when the Angels are *creatures* neither *prone,* nor *brute.* But does not Ovid's *animalia cætera* and Cicero's *cæteras animantes* in his De Leg. L. 1. warrant Milton's ſaying *as other creatures?* Thoſe *other creatures* can be none but ſuch as Raphael had been deſcribing the creation of; and therefore Angels are excluded ſufficiently from being underſtood here. [And Milton, I ſuppoſe, made uſe of the word *creatures,* as *creature* went before; *a creature not as other creatures.*] *With ſanctity of reaſon:* what does *of* do here? ſays the Doctor; he would have us read *With ſanctity and reaſon.* Ovid's words are theſe,

Sanctius his animal, mentiſque capacius altæ.

His ſtature, and upright with front ſerene
Govern the reſt, ſelf-knowing, and from thence
Magnanimous to correſpond with Heaven,
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Deſcends, thither with heart and voice and eyes
Directed in devotion, to adore
And worſhip God ſupreme, who made him chief
Of all his works: therefore th' Omnipotent
Eternal Father (for where is not he
Preſent?) thus to his Son audibly ſpake.
  Let us make now Man in our image, Man
In our ſimilitude, and let them rule
Over the fiſh and fowl of ſea and air,
Beaſt of the field, and over all the earth,

And

And this verſe our poet had in his mind, no doubt. But inſtead of merely copying from it, he has improv'd it by expreſſing Ovid's meaning in clearer and fewer words; for in Ovid the *ſanctity* of the creature conſiſts in its having *reaſon*, and this Milton better expreſſes by *ſanctity of reaſon*. When the Doctor upon ſecond thoughts propoſes to read, *With ſanctity, ſpeech, reaſon*, he adds a circumſtance not to be found in the Heathen poet, and therefore not intended (I preſume) by Milton. *Pearce.*

519. *Let us make now Man in our image*, &c.] The author keeps cloſely to ſcripture in his account of the formation of Man as well as of the other creatures. *And God ſaid, Let us make Man in our image, after our likeneſs; and let them have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattel, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created Man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and repleniſh the earth, and ſubdue it: and have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea,*

And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.
This ſaid, he form'd thee, Adam, thee, O Man,
Duſt of the ground, and in thy noſtrils breath'd
The breath of life; in his own image he
Created thee, in the image of God
Expreſs, and thou becam'ſt a living ſoul.
Male he created thee, but thy conſort
Female for race; then bleſs'd mankind, and ſaid,
Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth,
Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
Over fiſh of the ſea, and fowl of th' air,
And every living thing that moves on th' earth.
Wherever thus created, for no place
Is yet diſtinct by name, thence, as thou know'ſt,

He

ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth, Gen. I. 26, 27, 28. I have ſet down the paſſage at length, that the reader may compare the divine hiſtorian and the poet together. There are ſcarce any alterations, but what were requiſite for the verſe, or were occaſion'd by the change of the perſon as the Angel is ſpeaking to Adam. And what additions are made, are plainly of the ſame original, as the reader may ſee by comparing both together. *And the Lord God formed Man out of the duſt of the ground, and breath'd into his noſtrils the breath of life, and Man became a living ſoul.* Gen. II. 7.

535. *Wherever thus created*, &c.] The ſacred text ſays that *the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in Eden; and there he put the Man whom he had formed.* Gen. II. 8. And afterwards ver. 15. *And the Lord God took the Man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dreſs it and to keep it.* This ſeems to imply that Man was created in ſome other place, and was afterwards brought into the garden of Eden; and therefore Milton ſays,

Wherever thus created, for no
place

Is

He brought thee into this delicious grove,
This garden planted with the trees of God,
Delectable both to behold and taſte;
And freely all their pleaſant fruit for food
Gave thee; all ſorts are here that all th' earth yields
Variety without end; but of the tree,
Which taſted works knowledge of good and evil,
Thou may'ſt not; in the day thou eat'ſt, thou dy'ſt;
Death is the penalty impos'd, beware,
And govern well thy appetite, leſt Sin
Surpriſe thee, and her black attendent Death.
Here finiſh'd he, and all that he had made
View'd, and behold all was entirely good;
So ev'n and morn accompliſh'd the ſixth day:
Yet

Is yet diſtinct by name, thence, as thou know'ſt,
He brought thee into this delicious grove,
This garden, &c.

Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton in their editions have pointed the paſſage wrong, and contrary to Milton's own editions, by putting a full ſtop before *thence*, where ſhould be only a comma, and by putting a comma after this verſe, where ſhould be a full ſtop,

And every living thing that moves on th' earth,

and ſo referring *wherever thus created* to *every living thing*, whereas it ſhould be joined in conſtruction with *He brought thee*; *Wherever thus created, thence he brought thee* &c.

548. *Here finiſh'd he, and all that he had made*
View'd,] The pauſe is very remarkable, and admirably expreſſes the Creator ſurveying and contemplating his work,

— and behold all was entirely good;
So ev'n and morn accompliſh'd the ſixth day:

He finiſhes the account of the creation, in the ſame manner as Moſes, Gen. I. 31. *And God ſaw every thing*

Yet not till the Creator from his work
Deſiſting, though unwearied, up return'd,
Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,
Thence to behold this new created world
Th' addition of his empire, how it ſhow'd
In proſpect from his throne, how good, how fair,
Anſwering his great idea. Up he rode
Follow'd with acclamation and the ſound
Symphonious of ten thouſand harps that tun'd
Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air
Reſounded, (thou remember'ſt, for thou heardſt)
The Heav'ns and all the conſtellations rung,
The planets in their ſtation liſt'ning ſtood,
While the bright pomp aſcended jubilant.

Open,

thing that he had made, and behold it was very good: And the evening and the morning were the ſixth day.

551. *Yet not till the Creator* &c.] The poet repreſents the Meſſiah returning into Heaven, and taking a ſurvey of his great work. There is ſomething inexpreſſibly ſublime in this part of the poem, where the author deſcribes that great period of time, fill'd with ſo many glorious circumſtances; when the Heavens and Earth were finiſh'd; when the Meſſiah aſcended up in triumph thro' the everlaſting gates; when he looked down with pleaſure upon his new creation; when every part of nature ſeem'd to rejoice in its exiſtence; when the morning-ſtars ſang together, and all the ſons of God ſhouted for joy. *Addiſon.*

563. *The planets in their ſtation liſt'ning ſtood,*] The word *ſtation* is uſed in a more peculiar ſenſe than uſual. The *ſtation* of a planet is a term of art, when the planet appears neither to go backwards nor forwards, but to ſtand ſtill and keep the ſame place in its orbit. And what is ſaid here of the ſtars and planets is ſomewhat in the ſame noble ſtrain, as the ſong of Deborah, Judges V. 20. *the ſtars in their courſes fought againſt Siſera.*

565. *Open,*

Open, ye everlaſting gates, they ſung,
Open, ye Heav'ns, your living doors; let in
The great Creator from his work return'd
Magnificent, his ſix days work, a world;
Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deign
To viſit oft the dwellings of juſt men
Delighted, and with frequent intercourſe
Thither will ſend his winged meſſengers
On errands of ſupernal grace. So ſung
The glorious train aſcending: He through Heaven,
That open'd wide her blazing portals, led,
To God's eternal houſe direct the way,
A broad and ample road, whoſe duſt is gold
And pavement ſtars, as ſtars to thee appear,
Seen in the galaxy, that milky way,
Which nightly as a circling zone thou ſeeſt
Powder'd with ſtars. And now on earth the ſeventh
Evening

565. *Open, ye everlaſting gates,* &c.] Pſal. XXIV. 7. *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlaſting doors; and the king of glory ſhall come in.* This hymn was ſung when the ark of God was carried up into the ſanctuary on mount Sion, and is underſtood as a prophecy of our Saviour's aſcenſion into Heaven; and therefore is fitly applied by our author to the ſame divine Perſon's aſcending thither after he had created the world.

578.—*as ſtars to thee appear,* &c.] The pavement of Heaven was as thick ſet with ſtars, as ſtars appear in the galaxy or milky way, which is an aſſemblage of an infinite number of little ſtars, ſeen diſtinctly with a teleſcope, but too faint and remote to affect the eye ſingly.

581. *Powder'd with ſtars,*] A like expreſſion in Chaucer. Of the Cuccoo and the nightingale, ver. 63.

The

Evening aroſe in Eden, for the ſun
Was ſet, and twilight from the eaſt came on,
Forerunning night; when at the holy mount
Of Heav'n's high-ſeated top, th' imperial throne
Of Godhead, fixt for ever firm and ſure,
The filial Pow'r arriv'd, and ſat him down
With his great Father, for he alſo went
Inviſible, yet ſtay'd, (ſuch privilege
Hath Omnipreſence) and the work ordain'd,
Author and end of all things, and from work
Now reſting, bleſs'd and hallow'd the ſev'nth day,
As reſting on that day from all his work,
But not in ſilence holy kept; the harp
Had work and reſted not, the ſolemn pipe,
And dulcimer, all organs of ſweet ſtop,
All ſounds on fret by ſtring or golden wire
Temper'd ſoft tunings, intermix'd with voice
Choral

The grounde was grene, *ypoudrid* with daiſye.

591. ——*and from work*
Now reſting, bleſs'd and hollow'd
the ſev'nth day,
As reſting on that day from all
his work,] The reaſon aſſign'd by Moſes, and almoſt in the very words, Gen. II. 2, 3. *God reſted on the ſeventh day from all his work which he created and made: and God bleſſed the ſeventh day and ſanctify'd it, becauſe that in it he had reſted from all his work.*

597. *All ſounds on fret by ſtring or*
golden wire] On the finger-board of a baſs-viol, for inſtance, are diviſions athwart, by which the ſound is regulated and varied. Theſe diviſions are called frets. *Richardſon.*

599.—*Of*

Choral or uniſon: of incenſe clouds
Fuming from golden cenſers hid the mount.
Creation and the ſix days acts they ſung,
Great are thy works, Jehovah, infinite
Thy pow'r; what thought can meaſure thee or tongue
Relate thee? greater now in thy return
Than from the giant Angels; thee that day
Thy thunders magnify'd; but to create
Is greater than created to deſtroy.
Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
Thy empire? eaſily the proud attempt
Of Spi'rits apoſtate and their counſels vain
Thou

599. ——*of incenſe clouds*
Fuming from golden cenſers hid the mount.] The *incenſe fuming from golden cenſers* ſeems to be founded on Rev. VIII. 3, 4. *And an angel came and ſtood at the altar, having a golden cenſer; and the ſmoke of the incenſe aſcended up before God out of the Angel's hand.* Milton had ſeen too their manner of incenſing in the churches abroad, and he ſeems to have approved ſomething of it by transferring it to Heaven. And I have known ſome very good proteſtants wiſh that we had retain'd the moderate but not the ſuperſtitious uſe of incenſe in our churches, as thinking it might contribute to the ſweetneſs and ſalubrity of thoſe places.

602. *Great are thy works, Jehovah,* &c.] Milton is generally truly orthodox. In this hymn the Angels intimate the unity of the Son with the Father, ſinging to both as one God, Jehovah.

605. *Than from the giant Angels;*] Dr. Bentley reads *the rebel Angels*, thinking that the word *giant* inſinuates as if this was as fabulous as that of Jove. But the word inſinuates no ſuch thing; it is uſed not to expreſs the ſtature and ſize of the Angels, but that diſpoſition of mind, which is always aſcribed to giants, *viz.* a proud, fierce, and aſpiring temper. And this the Hebrew word *Gibbor* ſignifies, which is render'd a *giant* in Scripture. *Pearce.*
Dr. Pearce's conſtruction of the word *giant*, as if it meant only *fierce, proud, and aſpiring*, is in my opinion

Thou haſt repell'd, while impiouſly they thought
Thee to diminiſh, and from thee withdraw
The number of thy worſhippers. Who ſeeks
To leſſen thee, againſt his purpoſe ſerves
To manifeſt the more thy might: his evil
Thou uſeſt, and from thence creat'ſt more good.
Witneſs this new-made world, another Heaven
From Heaven gate not far, founded in view
On the clear hyaline, the glaſſy ſea;
Of amplitude almoſt immenſe, with ſtars
Numerous, and every ſtar perhaps a world
Of deſtin'd habitation; but thou know'ſt

Their

nion a little forc'd; nor yet do I think that there is any reaſon to change it into *rebel*, as Dr. Bentley would have it. Milton, I doubt not, intended to allude to Heſiod's giant war, but I don't ſee with Dr. Bentley, that therefore he muſt inſinuate that this relation is as fabulous as that. He probably deſign'd by this expreſſion to hint his opinion, that the fictions of the Greek poets owed their riſe to ſome uncertain clouded tradition of this real event, and their giants were, if they had underſtood the ſtory right, his fall'n Angels. *Thyer.*

619. *On the clear hyaline,*] This word is expreſs'd from the Greek ὑαλιν, and is immediately tranſlated *the glaſſy ſea.* For Milton, when he uſes Greek words, ſometimes gives the Engliſh with them, as in ſpeaking of the rivers of Hell, II. 577. *&c.* and ſo *the galaxy* he immediately tranſlates *that milky way. The glaſſy ſea* is the ſame as *the cryſtallin ocean*, ver. 271. Και ενωπιον τε θρονε θαλασσα ὑαλινη, ὁμοια κρυσταλλῳ. Rev. IV. 6. *And before the throne was a ſea of glaſs, like unto cryſtal.*

621. ——*perhaps a world*
Of deſtin'd habitation;] Milton was not willing to make the Angel aſſert poſitively that every ſtar was a world deſign'd to be inhabited, and therefore adds *perhaps*, this notion of the plurality of worlds being not ſo well eſtabliſh'd in thoſe days as in theſe.

624. *Earth*

Their ſeaſons: among theſe the ſeat of Men,
Earth with her nether ocean circumfus'd,
Their pleaſant dwelling place. Thrice happy Men,
And ſons of Men, whom God hath thus advanc'd,
Created in his image, there to dwell
And worſhip him, and in reward to rule
Over his works, on earrh, in ſea, or air,
And multiply a race of worſhippers
Holy and juſt: thrice happy if they know
Their happineſs, and perſevere upright.
So ſung they, and the empyréan rung
With halleluiahs: Thus was ſabbath kept.
And thy requeſt think now fulfill'd, that aſk'd
How firſt this world and face of things began,
And what before thy memory was done
From the beginning, that poſterity
Inform'd by thee might know; if elſe thou ſeek'ſt
Ought, not ſurpaſſing human meaſure, ſay.

624. *Earth with her nether ocean*] To diſtinguiſh it from the cryſtallin ocean, the waters above the firmament.

631. —*thrice happy if they know Their happineſs,*] Virg. Georg. II. 458.
O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona norint.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE

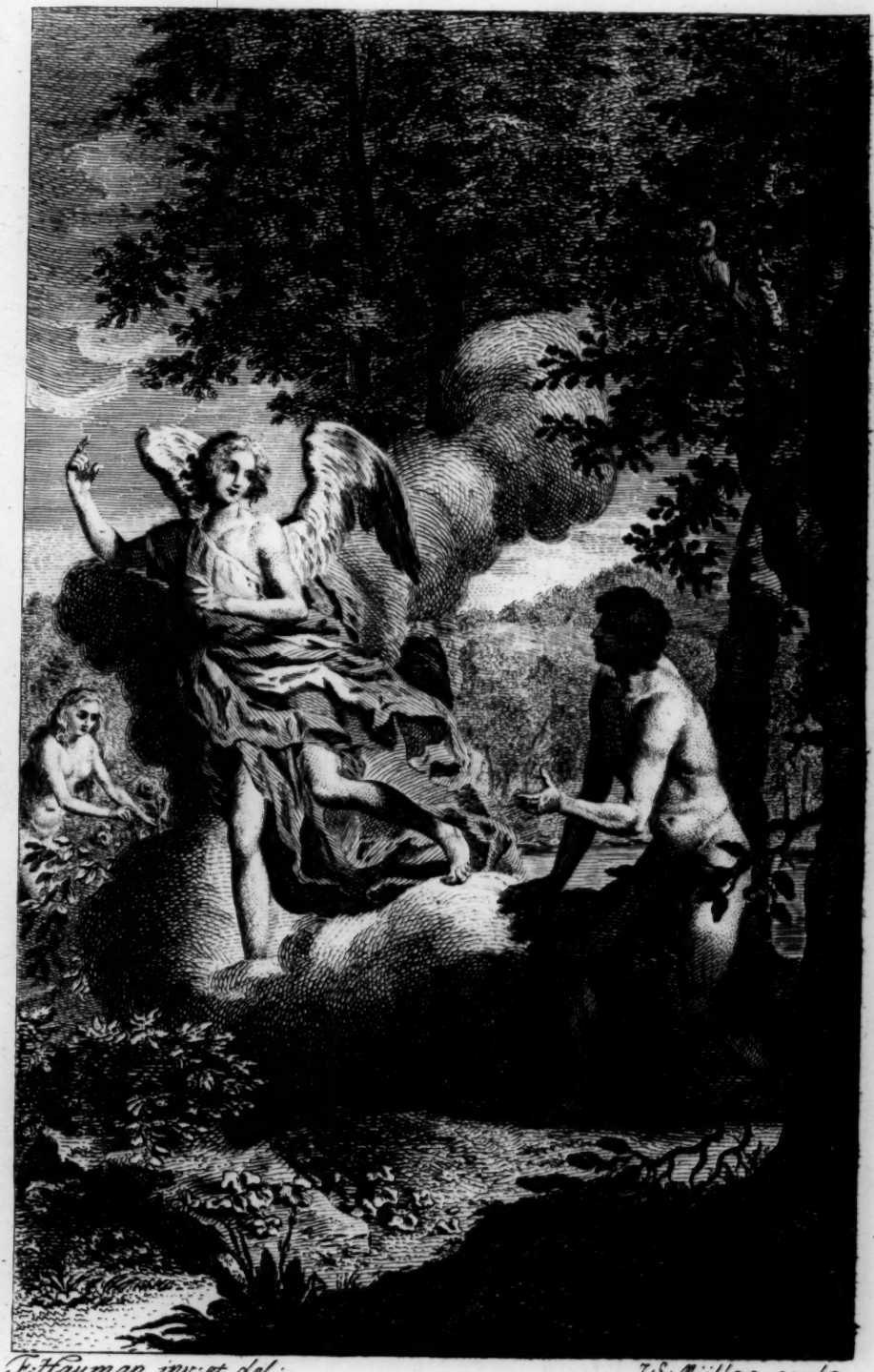
EIGHTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celeſtial motions, is doubtfully anſwer'd, and exhorted to ſearch rather things more worthy of knowledge: Adam aſſents, and ſtill deſirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remember'd ſince his own creation, his placing in Paradiſe, his talk with God concerning ſolitude and fit ſociety, his firſt meeting and nuptials with Eve, his diſcourſe with the Angel thereupon; who after admonitions repeated departs.



F. Hayman inv: et del: J. S. Müller sculp:

Book 8.

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VIII.

THE Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him ſtill ſpeaking, ſtill ſtood fix'd to hear;
Then as new wak'd thus gratefully reply'd.

What

1. *The Angel ended*, &c.] In the firſt edition of this poem in ten books here was only this line,

To whom *thus* Adam *gratefully reply'd.*

This would have been too abrupt a beginning for a new book; and therefore in the ſecond edition of the poem in twelve books, when the ſeventh book was divided into two, the author changed this line, and changed it very much for the better, into the four firſt lines as they ſtand at preſent, only preſerving part of this verſe in the laſt of the four,

Then as new wak'd *thus gratefully reply'd.*

2. *So charming left his voice*, &c.] Imitated probably from Apollonius I. 512. who elegantly deſcribes the effect which the harp and voice of Orpheus had upon the Argonauts. When Orpheus had ended his ſong, they, ſays the poet, intent and bending towards him, ſtill liſten'd and imagin'd him ſtill ſpeaking.

Η, και ὁ μεν φορμιγγα ζυν αμβροσιῃ ζχεθεν αυδῃ·
Τοιὸ' αμοιον ληξαιϑ· ετι φρεχοιϑο καρηνα
Παντες ὁμως ορθοισιν επ' ωασιν ηρεμεοντες
Κηληθμῳ· τοιον ζφιν ενελλιπε θελκτιν αοιδην.

The thought was originally Homer's, Iliad. II. 41.

—θειη δε μιν αμφεχυτ' ομφη.

Lucian Somn. οἱ γων——η φωνη των ακουσθεντων εναυλϑ. And Socrates in Plato's Crito. Και εν εμοι αυλο ἡ ηχη τϑιων των λογων βομβει, και ωοιει μη δυνασθαι των αλλων ακουειν. Jortin.

3. ——*ſtill ſtood fix'd to hear*;] *Stood* from *Stava* (Italian) remain'd, continued; not that Adam was in a ſtanding poſture, probably he ſat as at dinner, V. 433. 'Tis not his attitude which is here deſcribed, but his great attention. *Richardſon.*

What thanks ſufficient, or what recompenſe
Equal have I to render thee, divine
Hiſtorian, who thus largely haſt allay'd
The thirſt I had of knowledge, and vouchſaf'd
This friendly condeſcenſion to relate
Things elſe by me unſearchable, now heard
With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
With glory attributed to the high
Creator? ſomething yet of doubt remains,
Which only thy ſolution can reſolve.

When

5. *What thanks ſufficient,* &c.] The accounts which Raphael gives of the battel of Angels and the creation of the world, have in them thoſe qualifications, which the critics judge requiſite to an epiſode. They are nearly related to the principal action, and have a juſt connexion with the fable. The eighth book opens with a beautiful deſcription of the impreſſion which this diſcourſe of the Arch-Angel made on our firſt parents. Adam afterwards, by a very natural curioſity, inquires concerning the motions of thoſe celeſtial bodies which make the moſt glorious appearance among the ſix days works. The poet here, with a great deal of art, repreſents Eve as withdrawing from this part of their converſation to amuſements more ſuitable to her ſex. He well knew, that the epiſode in this book, which is filled with Adam's account of his paſſion and eſteem for Eve, would have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore deviſed very juſt and beautiful reaſons for her retiring. *Addiſon.*

15. *When I beheld this goodly frame, this world* &c.] Milton after having given ſo noble an idea of the creation of this new world takes a moſt proper occaſion to ſhow the two great ſyſtems, uſually called the Ptolemaic and the Copernican, one making the earth, the other the ſun to be the center; and this he does by introducing Adam propoſing very judiciouſly the difficulties that occur in the firſt, and which was the Syſtem moſt obvious to him. The reply of the Angel touches on the expedients the Ptolemaics invented to ſolve thoſe difficulties, and to patch up their ſyſtem, and then intimates that perhaps the ſun is the center, and ſo opens that ſyſtem, and withal the noble improvements of the new philoſophy; not however determining for

When I behold this goodly frame, this world
Of Heav'n and Earth conſiſting, and compute
Their magnitudes, this earth, a ſpot, a grain,
An atom, with the firmament compar'd
And all her number'd ſtars, that ſeem to roll
Spaces incomprehenſible (for ſuch
Their diſtance argues and their ſwift return
Diurnal) merely to officiate light
Round this opacous earth, this punctual ſpot,
One day and night, in all their vaſt ſurvey

Uſeleſs

for one or the other: on the contrary he exhorts our progenitor to apply his thoughts rather to what more nearly concerns him, and is within his reach. *Richardſon.*

19. *And all her number'd ſtars,*] Number'd by whom? By the Lord their Creator, and by him alone, Pſal. CXLVII. 4. *He telleth the number of the ſtars, he calleth them all by their names.* Aſtronomers alſo tell their number, but 'tis of that ſmall part only which they ſee and give names to. But neither is this the *number'd* meant in this place. Adam only would ſay they are not a few, but a vaſt number, numerous. *Richardſon.*

Number'd is the ſame here as *numerous* in VII. 621.

19. —— *that ſeem to roll*
Spaces incomprehenſible] That is roll *thro'* ſpaces incomprehenſible: But Dr. Bentley reads *With ſpeed incomprehenſible*; becauſe (as he ſays) their *diſtance* does not argue the ſpaces of the ſtars, one being reciprocal to the other: nor does their *ſwift diurnal return* argue their ſpaces, but rather againſt them. This is true of the *diſtance* and the *ſwift diurnal return* conſider'd ſeparately. But it is as true, that when a body is at a vaſt diſtance and performs its circuit in a day, both theſe circumſtances conſider'd together argue that it rolls through ſpaces incomprehenſible. *Pearce.*

23. — *this punctual ſpot,*] He had call'd this earth *a ſpot*, in ver. 17. he calls it here *this punctual ſpot*, a ſpot no bigger than a point, compared with the firmament and fixed ſtars. Dr. Bentley ſays that the author deſign'd *punctal*; but *punctual* is derived equally from *punctum* a point; and as the Engliſh language was before in poſſeſſion of the word *punctual*, we may ſuppoſe that he choſe to make uſe of his word

Uſeleſs beſides; reaſoning I oft admire,
How nature wiſe and frugal could commit
Such diſproportions, with ſuperfluous hand
So many nobler bodies to create,
Greater ſo manifold to this one uſe,
For ought appears, and on their orbs impoſe
Such reſtleſs revolution day by day
Repeated, while the ſedentary earth
That better might with far leſs compaſs move,
Serv'd by more noble than herſelf, attains
Her end without leaſt motion, and receives,
As tribute, ſuch a ſumleſs journey brought

Of

rather than to coin a new one, eſpecially ſince this ſignifies the ſame as the other.

28. *So many nobler bodies to create, Greater ſo manifold*] As if he had ſaid, *So many nobler, ſo many greater*; but he turns the words, *So many nobler, Greater ſo* many, *manifold* for the ſake of the verſe.

37. *Of incorporeal ſpeed,*] Not that it was truly ſo, it ſignifies only very great ſpeed, ſuch as Spirits might uſe. *Speed almoſt ſpiritual*, as he expreſſes it a little afterwards, ver. 110.

40. —— *which Eve Perceiving*, &c.] What a lovely picture has the poet here drawn of Eve! As it did not become her to bear a part in the converſation, ſhe modeſtly ſits at a diſtance, but yet within view. She ſtays as long as the Angel and her huſband are diſcourſing of things, which it might concern her and her duty to know: but when they enter upon abſtruſer points, then ſhe decently retires. This is preſerving the decorum of character: and ſo Cephalus in Plato's Republic, and Scævola in Cicero's treatiſe De Oratore, ſtay only as long as it was ſuitable for perſons of their character, and are made to withdraw when the diſcourſe was leſs proper for them to hear. Eve's withdrawing is juſter and more beautiful than theſe inſtances. She riſes to go forth with lowlineſs, but yet with majeſty and grace. What modeſty and what dignity is here! Ovid ſays of Venus relating a ſtory to her beloved Adonis, Met. X. 559.

Sic

Of incorporeal ſpeed, her warmth and light;
Speed, to deſcribe whoſe ſwiftneſs number fails.
So ſpake our ſire, and by his count'nance ſeem'd
Entring on ſtudious thoughts abſtruſe, which Eve
Perceiving where ſhe ſat retir'd in ſight,
With lowlineſs majeſtic from her ſeat,
And grace that won who ſaw to wiſh her ſtay,
Roſe, and went forth among her fruits and flowers,
To viſit how they proſper'd, bud and bloom,
Her nurſery; they at her coming ſprung,
And touch'd by her fair tendence gladlier grew.
Yet went ſhe not, as not with ſuch diſcourſe
Delighted,

Sic ait, ac mediis interſerit oſcula verbis.

But now much more delicate is Milton's expreſſion, and more becoming the chaſte conjugal affection of Eve!

——*from his lip*
Not words alone pleas'd her.——

Tibullus ſays in praiſe of Sulpicia, IV. II. 7.

Illam, quicquid agit, quoquo veſtigia flectit,
Componit furtim, ſubſequiturque decor.

But how much farther has our author carried the thought! Not only grace, but *a pomp of winning graces* waited upon her. She is not only graceful, but *queen* of the graces, as the Heathens ſuppoſed their Goddeſs of love to be.

46.——*they at her coming ſprung*, &c.] The ſame pretty thought Marino applies to his Venus, which probably Milton might have in view.

L'herbe dal ſole impallidite, e gialle
Verdeggian tutte, ogni fior s'apre & alza, &c.
Adone, Cant. 3. St. 65.

In the ſame manner alſo ſpeaking of Adonis,

Tutto al venir d'Adon par che ridenti,
Riveſta il bel giardin novi colori &c. Ib. Cant. 6. St. 146.
Thyer.

Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high: ſuch pleaſure ſhe reſerv'd,
Adam relating, ſhe ſole auditreſs;
Her huſband the relator ſhe preferr'd
Before the Angel, and of him to aſk
Choſe rather; he, ſhe knew, would intermix
Grateful digreſſions, and ſolve high diſpute
With conjugal careſſes; from his lip
Not words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
Such pairs, in love and mutual honor join'd?
With Goddeſs-like demeanour forth ſhe went,
Not unattended, for on her as queen
A pomp of winning graces waited ſtill,
And from about her ſhot darts of deſire
Into all eyes to wiſh her ſtill in ſight.

And

59. *With Goddeſs-like demeanour forth ſhe went,*
Not unattended,] In the turn of expreſſion in theſe two lines Milton ſeems to allude to Homer's deſcription of Helen. Iliad. III. 142.

Ὧρματ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο, τερεν καλὰ δάκρυ χέουσα,
Οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇσι. Thyer.

66. *To aſk or ſearch* &c.] The Angel's returning a doubtful anſwer to Adam's inquiries, was not only proper for the moral reaſon which the poet aſſigns, but becauſe it would have been highly abſurd to have given the ſanction of an Arch Angel to any particular ſyſtem of philoſophy. The chief points in the Ptolemaic aud Copernican hypotheſes are deſcribed with great conciſeneſs and perſpicuity, and at the ſame time dreſſed in very pleaſing and poetical images. *Addiſon.*

70. *This to attain,*] To attain to the knowledge of this hard queſtion, Whether Heaven or Earth move, is of no concern or conſequence to thee; *N'importe* (French) it matters not; ſays Mr. Hume. Mr. Richardſon underſtands it in the ſame manner;

And Raphael now to Adam's doubt propos'd
Benevolent and facil thus reply'd.
To aſk or ſearch I blame thee not, for Heaven
Is as the book of God before thee ſet,
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
His ſeaſons, hours, or days, or months, or years:
This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth,
Imports not, if thou reckon right; the reſt
From Man or Angel the great Architect
Did wiſely to conceal, and not divulge
His ſecrets to be ſcann'd by them who ought
Rather admire; or if they liſt to try
Conjecture, he his fabric of the Heavens
Hath left to their diſputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide

Here-

ner: his words are "To attain to "know whether the ſun or the earth "moves is not of uſe to us." But I believe that they are both miſtaken in the ſenſe of this paſſage, for I conceive it otherwiſe. *This to attain* is to be referred to what precedes and not to what follows; and accordingly there is only a colon before theſe words in Milton's own editions, and not a full ſtop as in ſome others. *This to attain*, that is to attain the knowledge of *ſeaſons, hours, or days, or months, or years*. *It imports not*, it matters not, it makes no difference whether Heaven move or Earth, whether the Ptolemaic or the Copernican ſyſtem be true. This knowledge we may ſtill attain; *the reſt*, other more curious points of inquiry concerning the heavenly bodies, God hath done wiſely to conceal.

76. — *he his fabric of the Heavens Hath left to their diſputes,*] Mundum tradidit diſputationi eorum, ut non inveniat homo opus quod operatus eſt Deus, ab initio uſque ad finem. Vulg. Lat. Eccleſ. III. 11. *Heylin.*

80. *And*

Hereafter, when they come to model Heaven
And calculate the ſtars, how they will wield
The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
To ſave appearances, how gird the ſphere
With centric and eccentric ſcribled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb:
Already by thy reaſoning this I gueſs,
Who art to lead thy ofspring, and ſuppoſeſt
That bodies bright and greater ſhould not ſerve
The leſs not bright, nor Heav'n ſuch journeys run,
Earth ſitting ſtill, when ſhe alone receives
The benefit: conſider firſt, that great
Or bright infers not excellence: the earth
Though, in compariſon of Heav'n, ſo ſmall,
Nor gliſt'ring, may of ſolid good contain
More plenty than the ſun that barren ſhines,

Whoſe

80. *And calculate the ſtars,*] The ſenſe is, And form a judgment of the ſtars by computing their motions, diſtance, ſituation, &c. as to *calculate* a nativity ſignifies to form a judgment of the events attending it, by computing what planets, in what motions, preſided over that nativity. But Dr. Bentley takes *calculating the ſtars* here to mean counting their numbers. That might be one thing intended; but it is not all. To *calculate* them is to make a computation of every thing relating to them: the conſequence of which is (in the old ſyſtem eſpecially) *centric and eccentric, cycle and epicycle,* and *orb in orb.* Pearce.

83. *With centric and eccentric*] *Centric* or concentric are ſuch ſpheres whoſe center is the ſame with, and *eccentric* ſuch whoſe centers are different from that of the earth. *Cycle* is a circle: *Epicycle* is a circle upon another

Whoſe virtue on itſelf works no effect,
But in the fruitful earth; there firſt receiv'd
His beams, unactive elſe, their vigor find.
Yet not to earth are thoſe bright luminaries
Officious, but to thee earth's habitant.
And for the Heav'n's wide circuit, let it ſpeak
The Maker's high magnificence, who built
So ſpacious, and his line ſtretch'd out ſo far;
That Man may know he dwells not in his own;
An edifice too large for him to fill,
Lodg'd in a ſmall partition, and the reſt
Ordain'd for uſes to his Lord beſt known.
The ſwiftneſs of thoſe circles attribúte,
Though numberleſs, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal ſubſtances could add
Speed almoſt ſpiritual; me thou think'ſt not ſlow,
Who

another circle. Expedients of the Ptolemaics to ſolve the apparent difficulties in their ſyſtem. *Richardſon.*

102.—*and his line ſtretch'd out ſo far*;] A Scripture expreſſion, Job XXXVIII. 5. *Who hath ſtretched the line upon it?* as if God had meaſur'd the Heavens and the Earth with a line.

108. *Though numberleſs*,] It may be join'd in conſtruction with *circles*, and not with *ſwiftneſs*, as Dr. Bentley conceiv'd. And the ſenſe is (as Dr. Pearce expreſſes it) that it is God's omnipotence which gives to the circles, though ſo numberleſs, ſuch a degree of ſwiftneſs. Or if we join *numberleſs* in conſtruction with *ſwiftneſs*, it may be underſtood as in ver. 38.

Speed, to deſcribe whoſe ſwiftneſs number fails.

128. *In*

Who ſince the morning hour ſet out from Heaven
Where God reſides, and ere mid-day arriv'd
In Eden, diſtance inexpreſſible
By numbers that have name. But this I urge,
Admitting motion in the Heav'ns, to ſhow,
Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd;
Not that I ſo affirm, though ſo it ſeem
To thee who haſt thy dwelling here on earth.
God to remove his ways from human ſenſe,
Plac'd Heav'n from Earth ſo far, that earthly ſight,
If it preſume, might err in things too high,
And no advantage gain. What if the ſun
Be center to the world, and other ſtars
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds?
Their wand'ring courſe now high, now low, then hid,

Pro-

128. *In ſix thou ſeeſt*, &c.] In the *moon*, and the *five other wand'ring fires*, as they are call'd V. 177. Their motions are evident; and what if the earth ſhould be a ſeventh planet, and move three different motions though to thee inſenſible? The *three different motions* which the Copernicans attribute to the earth are the *diurnal* round her own axis, the *annual* round the ſun, and the *motion of libration* as it is call'd, whereby the earth ſo proceeds in her orbit, as that her axis is conſtantly parallel to the axis of the world. *Which elſe to ſeveral ſpheres thou muſt aſcribe*, &c. You muſt either aſcribe theſe motions to ſeveral ſpheres croſſing and thwarting one another with crooked and indirect turnings and windings: Or you muſt attribute them to the earth, and *ſave the ſun his labor* and the primum mobile too, *that ſwift nocturnal and diurnal rhomb*. It was obſerved

Progreſſive, retrograde, or ſtanding ſtill,
In ſix thou ſeeſt, and what if ſev'nth to theſe
The planet earth, ſo ſtedfaſt though ſhe ſeem,
Inſenſibly three different motions move?
Which elſe to ſeveral ſpheres thou muſt aſcribe,
Mov'd contrary with thwart obliquities,
Or ſave the ſun his labor, and that ſwift
Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb ſuppos'd,
Inviſible elſe above all ſtars, the wheel
Of day and night; which needs not thy belief,
If earth induſtrious of herſelf fetch day
Traveling eaſt, and with her part averſe
From the ſun's beam meet night, her other part
Still luminous by his ray. What if that light
Sent from her through the wide tranſpicuous air,
To the terreſtrial moon be as a ſtar

Inlight-

obſerved in the note on VII. 619. that when Milton uſes a Greek word, he frequently ſubjoins the Engliſh of it, as he does here, *the wheel of day and night*. So he calls the primum mobile: and this primum mobile, in the ancient aſtronomy, was an imaginary ſphere above thoſe of the planets and fixed ſtars; and therefore ſaid by our author to be *ſuppos'd* and *invincible above all ſtars*. This was conceived to be the firſt mover, and to carry all the lower ſpheres round along with it; by its rapidity communicating to them a motion whereby they revolved in twenty-four hours. *Which needs not thy belief, if earth* &c. But there is no need to believe this, if the earth, by revolving round on her own axis from weſt to eaſt in twenty-four hours (*traveling eaſt*) enjoys day in that half of her globe which is turn'd towards the ſun, and is cover'd with night in

Inlightning her by day, as ſhe by night
This earth? reciprocal, if land be there,
Fields and inhabitants: Her ſpots thou ſeeſt
As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
Fruits in her ſoften'd ſoil, for ſome to eat
Allotted there; and other ſuns perhaps
With their attendent moons thou wilt deſcry
Communicating male and female light,
Which two great ſexes animate the world,
Stor'd in each orb perhaps with ſome that live.

For

in the other half which is turn'd away from the ſun.

145. —— *Her ſpots thou ſeeſt*
As clouds,] It ſeems by this and by another paſſage V. 419. as if our author thought that the ſpots in the moon were clouds and vapors: but the moſt probable opinion is, that they are her ſeas and waters, which reflect only part of the ſun's rays, and abſorb the reſt. They cannot poſſibly be clouds and vapors, becauſe they are obſerv'd to be fix'd and permanent. But (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) Mr. Azout in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1666, thought that he had obſerved ſome difference between the ſpots of the moon as they then appear'd, and as they are deſcribed to have appear'd long before: and Milton, who wrote this poem about that time, might approve of Auzout's obſervation, though others do not.

150. *Communicating male and female light*] The ſuns communicate male, and the moons female light. And thus Pliny mentions it as a tradition, that the ſun is a maſculine ſtar, drying all things: on the contrary, the moon is a ſoft and feminine ſtar, diſſolving humors: and ſo the balance of nature is preſerved, ſome of the ſtars binding the elements, and others looſing them. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 2. C. 100. Solis ardore ſiccator liquor; et hoc eſſe maſculum ſidus accepimus, torrens cuncta ſorbenſque.—E contrario ferunt lunæ femineum ac molle ſidus, atque nocturnum ſolvere humorem.——Ita penſari naturæ vices, ſemperque ſufficere, aliis ſiderum elementa cogentibus, aliis vero fundentibus.

155. *Only to ſhine, yet ſcarce to contribúte*] The accent here upon *contribúte* is the ſame as upon *attribúte* in ver. 107.

The

For ſuch vaſt room in nature unpoſſeſs'd
By living ſoul, deſert and deſolate,
Only to ſhine, yet ſcarce to contribúte
Each orb a glimpſe of light, convey'd ſo far
Down to this habitable, which returns
Light back to them, is obvious to diſpute.
But whether thus theſe things, or whether not,
Whether the ſun predominant in Heaven
Riſe on the earth, or earth riſe on the ſun,
He from the eaſt his flaming road begin,

Or

The ſwiftneſs of thoſe circles attribúte:

and upon *attribúted* in ver. 12.

With glory attribúted to the high.

But now a days we generally lay the accent differently.

157.——*this habitable,*] An adjective uſed ſubſtantively: earth is underſtood: as in VI. 78. *this terrene. This habitable* is pure Greek, Οικουμενη, the inhabited, the earth. *Richardſon.*

158. *Light back to them,*] I think that Dr. Bentley very juſtly objects to the word *Light* here: for if the fix'd ſtars convey only a *glimpſe of light* to our earth, it is too much to ſay that ſhe returns back to them *light* in general, which implies more than a glimpſe of it. The Doctor therefore would read *Nought back to them:* But this is not agreeable to the philoſophy which Milton puts in Raphael's mouth: for it is intimated in ver. 140. that our earth does *ſend out light from her*; and if ſo, then ſome of her light might be return'd back to the fix'd ſtars. Suppoſe we ſhould read *Like back to them*, &c. i. e. only a *glimpſe of light*, juſt as much and no more than ſhe receives. *Pearce.*

159. *But whether thus theſe things, or whether not,* &c.] The Angel is now recapitulating the whole. He had argued upon the ſuppoſition of the truth of the Ptolemaic ſyſtem to ver. 122. Then he propoſes the Copernican ſyſtem, and argues upon that ſuppoſition. Now he ſums up the whole, *But whether thus theſe things, or whether not*, whether the one ſyſtem or the other be true, whether Heaven move or Earth, ſolicit not thyſelf about theſe matters, fear God and do thy duty.

162.——*his flaming road*] Elegantly applying to the road what belongs

Or ſhe from weſt her ſilent courſe advance
With inoffenſive pace that ſpinning ſleeps
On her ſoft axle, while ſhe paces even,
And bears thee ſoft with the ſmooth air along,
Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him ſerve and fear;
Of other creatures, as him pleaſes beſt,
Wherever plac'd, let him diſpoſe: joy thou
In what he gives to thee, this Paradiſe
And thy fair Eve; Heav'n is for thee too high
To know what paſſes there; be lowly wiſe:
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what ſtate, condition or degree,
Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
Not of Earth only but of higheſt Heaven.

To

belongs to the ſun. So I. 786. he ſays the moon *wheels her pale courſe*. Richardſon.

164. ——— *that ſpinning ſleeps*
On her ſoft axle,] Metaphors taken from a top, of which Virgil makes a whole ſimile, Æn. VII. 378. It is an objection to the Copernican ſyſtem, that if the earth mov'd round on her axle in twenty-four hours, we ſhould be ſenſible of the rapidity and violence of the motion; and therefore to obviate this objection it is not only ſaid that *ſhe advances her ſilent courſe with inoffenſive pace that ſpinning ſleeps on her ſoft axle*, but it is farther added to explain it ſtill more, *while ſhe paces even, and bears thee ſoft with the ſmooth air along:* for the air, the atmoſphere moves as well as the earth.

173. ——— *be lowly wiſe:*] Noli altum ſapere. *Hume.*

193. *That*

To whom thus Adam, clear'd of doubt, reply'd.
How fully haſt thou ſatisfy'd me, pure
Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel ſerene,
And freed from intricacies, taught to live
The eaſieſt way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the ſweet of life, from which
God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
And not moleſt us, unleſs we ourſelves
Seek them with wand'ring thoughts, and notions vain.
But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
Till warn'd, or by experience taught, ſhe learn,
That not to know at large of things remote
From uſe, obſcure and ſubtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wiſdom; what is more, is fume,

Or

193. *That which before us lies in daily life,*] Shadow'd from a verſe of Homer, ſo much admir'd and recommended by Socrates,

Οτ̃ι τοι εν μ̃ιαφοισι κακον τ' αγαθον τε τετυκται. Bentley.

194. *Is the prime wiſdom; what is more, is fume,* &c.] An excellent piece of ſatir this, and a fine reproof of thoſe men who have all ſenſe but common ſenſe, and whoſe folly is truly repreſented in the ſtory of the philoſopher, who while he was gazing at the ſtars fell into the ditch. Our author in theſe lines, as Mr. Thyer imagins, might probably have in his eye the character of Socrates, who firſt attempted to divert his countrymen from their aery and chimerical notions about the origin of things, and turn their attention to that *prime wiſdom*, the conſideration of moral duties, and their conduct in ſocial life.

Or emptineſs, or fond impertinence,
And renders us in things that moſt concern
Unpractic'd, unprepar'd, and ſtill to ſeek.
Therefore from this high pitch let us deſcend
A lower flight, and ſpeak of things at hand
Uſeful, whence haply mention may ariſe
Of ſomething not unſeaſonable to aſk
By ſufferance, and thy wonted favor deign'd.
Thee I have heard relating what was done
Ere my remembrance: now hear me relate
My ſtory, which perhaps thou haſt not heard;
And

204. ——*now hear me relate*
My ſtory,] Adam, to detain the Angel, enters upon his own hiſtory, and relates to him the circumſtances in which he found himſelf upon his creation; as alſo his converſation with his Maker, and his firſt meeting with Eve. There is no part of the poem more apt to raiſe the attention of the reader, than this diſcourſe of our great anceſtor; as nothing can be more ſurpriſing and delightful to us, than to hear the ſentiments that aroſe in the firſt man while he was yet new and freſh from the hands of his Creator. The poet has interwoven every thing which is delivered upon this ſubject in holy Writ with ſo many beautiful imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived more juſt and natural than this whole epiſode. As our author knew this ſubject could not but be agreeable to his reader, he would not throw it into the relation of the ſix days works, but reſerved it for a diſtinct epiſode, that he might have an opportunity of expatiating upon it more at large. Before I enter on this part of the poem, I cannot but take notice of two ſhining paſſages in the dialogue between Adam and the Angel. The firſt is that wherein our anceſtor gives an account of the pleaſure he took in converſing with him, which contains a very noble moral.

For while I ſit with thee, I ſeem
in Heaven, &c.

The other I ſhall mention is that in which the Angel gives a reaſon why he ſhould be glad to hear the ſtory Adam was about to relate.

For

And day is not yet ſpent; till then thou ſeeſt
How ſubtly to detain thee I deviſe,
Inviting thee to hear while I relate,
Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply:
For while I ſit with thee, I ſeem in Heaven,
And ſweeter thy diſcourſe is to my ear
Than fruits of palm-tree pleaſanteſt to thirſt
And hunger both, from labor, at the hour
Of ſweet repaſt; they ſatiate, and ſoon fill
Though pleaſant, but thy words with grace divine
Imbued, bring to their ſweetneſs no ſatiety.

To

For I that day was abſent, &c.
Addiſon.

211. *And ſweeter thy diſcourſe is to my ear* &c.] The poet had here probably in mind that paſſage in Virgil, Ecl. V. 45.

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta,
Quale ſopor feſſis in gramine: quale per æſtum
Dulcis aquæ ſaliente ſitim reſtinguere rivo.

O heav'nly poet! ſuch thy verſe appears,
So ſweet, ſo charming to my raviſh'd ears,
As to the weary ſwain, with cares oppreſt,
Beneath the ſylvan ſhade, refreſhing reſt;
As to the feveriſh traveler, when firſt
He finds a cryſtal ſtream to quench his thirſt. Dryden.

But the fine turn in the three laſt lines of Milton is entirely his own, and gives an exquiſite beauty to this paſſage above Virgil's. See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 37.

212. — *fruits of palm-tree*] The *palm-tree* bears a fruit call'd a date, full of ſweet juice, a great reſtorative to dry and exhauſted bodies by augmenting the radical moiſture. There is one kind of it call'd Palma Ægyptiaca, which from its virtue againſt drouth was named [illegible], ſitim ſedans. *Hume.*

To whom thus Raphael anſwer'd heav'nly meek.
Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,
Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee
Abundantly his gifts hath alſo pour'd
Inward and outward both, his image fair:
Speaking or mute all comelineſs and grace
Attends thee, and each word, each motion forms;
Nor leſs think we in Heav'n of thee on Earth
Than of our fellow-ſervant, and inquire
Gladly into the ways of God with Man:
For God we ſee hath honor'd thee, and ſet
On Man his equal love: ſay therefore on;

For

218. *Nor are thy lips ungraceful,*] Alluding to Pſal. XLV. 3. *Full of grace are thy lips.*

221. *Inward and outward both, his image fair:*] One would think by this word *outward* that Milton was of the ſect of Anthropomorphites, as well as Materialiſts. *Warburton.*

225. *Than of our fellow-ſervant,*] So the Angel ſays unto St. John, Rev. XXII. 9. *I am thy fellow-ſervant.*

229. *For I that day was abſent,*] The ſixth day of creation. Of all the reſt, of which he has given an account, he might have been an eye-witneſs, and ſpeak from his own knowledge: what he has ſaid of this day's work, of Adam's original, to be ſure, he muſt have had by hear-ſay or inſpiration. Milton had very good reaſon to make the Angel abſent now, not only to vary his ſpeaker, but becauſe Adam could beſt, or only, tell ſome particulars not to be omitted. *Richardſon.*

231. — *the gates of Hell;*] Hom. Iliad. XXIII. 71. πυλας αϊδαο.

233. *To ſee that none thence iſſued forth* &c.] As Man was to be the principal work of God in this lower world, and (according to Milton's hypotheſis) a creature to ſupply the loſs of the fallen Angels, ſo particular care is taken at his creation. The Angels on that day keep watch and guard at the gates of Hell, that none may iſſue forth to interrupt the ſacred work. At the ſame time

For I that day was abſent, as befel,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obſcure,
Far on excurſion tow'ard the gates of Hell;
Squar'd in full legion (ſuch command we had)
To ſee that none thence iſſued forth a ſpy,
Or enemy, while God was in his work,
Leſt he incens'd at ſuch eruption bold,
Deſtruction with creation might have mix'd.
Not that they durſt without his leave attempt,
But us he ſends upon his high beheſts
For ſtate, as Sovran King, and to inure
Our prompt obedience. Faſt we found, faſt ſhut
The

time that this was a very good reaſon for the Angel's abſence, it is likewiſe doing honor to the Man with whom he was converſing.

240.—*Faſt we found, faſt ſhut* &c.] There is no queſtion but our poet drew the image in what follows from that in Virgil's ſixth book, where Æneas and the Sibyl ſtand before the adamantin gates, which are there deſcribed as ſhut upon the place of torments, and liſten to the groans, the clank of chains, and the noiſe of iron whips, that were heard in thoſe regions of pain and ſorrow. *Addiſon.*

The reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the paſſage, Æn. VI. 557.

Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et ſæva ſonare
Verbera; tum ſtridor ferri, tractæque catenæ:
Conſtitit Æneas, ſtrepitumque exterritus hauſit.

From hence are heard the groans of ghoſts, the pains
Of ſounding laſhes and of dragging chains:
The Trojan ſtood aſtoniſh'd at their cries. Dryden.

And in like manner Aſtolfo in Orlando Furioſo is repreſented liſt'ning at the mouth of Hell, Cant. 34. St. 4.

L'orecchie attente à lo ſpiraglio tenne,
E l'aria ne ſenti percoſſa, e rotta
Da pianti, e d' urli, e da lamento eterno,
Segno evidente, quivi eſſer l'inferno.

The diſmal gates, and barricado'd ſtrong;
But long ere our approaching heard within
Noiſe, other than the ſound of dance or ſong,
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
Glad we return'd up to the coaſts of light
Ere ſabbath evening: ſo we had in charge.
But thy relation now; for I attend,
Pleas'd with thy words no leſs than thou with mine.
So ſpake the Godlike Pow'r, and thus our ſire.
For Man to tell how human life began
Is hard; for who himſelf beginning knew?
Deſire with thee ſtill longer to converſe
Induc'd me. As new wak'd from ſoundeſt ſleep
Soft

To hearken at the ſame he waxed bold,
And heard moſt woful mourning, plaints and cries,
Such as from Hell were likely to ariſe. Harrington.

253.—*As new wak'd from ſoundeſt ſleep* &c.] Adam then proceeds to give an account of his condition and ſentiments immediately after his creation. How agreeably does he repreſent the poſture in which he found himſelf, the beautiful landſkip that ſurrounded him, and the gladneſs of heart which grew up in him on that occaſion? Adam is afterwards deſcribed as ſurpriſed at his own exiſtence, and taking a ſurvey of himſelf, and of all the works of nature. He likewiſe is repreſented as diſcovering by the light of reaſon, that he and every thing about him muſt have been the effect of ſome being infinitely good and powerful, and that this being had a right to his worſhip and adoration. His firſt addreſs to the ſun and to thoſe parts of the creation which made the moſt diſtinguiſh'd figure, is very natural and amuſing to the imagination. His next ſentiment, when upon his firſt going to ſleep he fancies himſelf loſing his exiſtence, and falling away into nothing, can never be ſufficiently admir'd. His dream in which he ſtill preſerves the conſciouſneſs of his exiſtence,

to-

Soft on the flow'ry herb I found me laid
In balmy ſweat, which with his beams the ſun
Soon dry'd, and on the reaking moiſture fed.
Strait toward Heav'n my wond'ring eyes I turn'd,
And gaz'd a while the ample ſky, till rais'd
By quick inſtinctive motion up I ſprung,
As thitherward endevoring, and upright
Stood on my feet; about me round I ſaw
Hill, dale, and ſhady woods, and ſunny plains,
And liquid lapſe of murm'ring ſtreams; by theſe,
Creatures that liv'd and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew,
Birds on the branches warbling; all things ſmil'd,
With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.
Myſelf

together with his removal into the garden which was prepared for his reception, are alſo circumſtances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in ſacred ſtory. Theſe and the like wonderful incidents in this part of the work have in them all the beauties of novelty, at the ſame time that they have all the graces of nature. They are ſuch as none but a great genius could have thought of, though, upon the peruſal of them, they ſeem to riſe of themſelves from the ſubject of which he treats. In a word, tho' they are natural, they are not obvious, which is the true character of all fine writing. *Addiſon.*

256.—*reaking.*] Or reeking is the ſame as ſteaming or ſmoking from the Saxon *Rec* ſmoke. This idea is not the moſt delicate.

265. ——*all things ſmil'd,*
With fragance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.] So Milton's own and moſt other editions, have this paſſage. Others have it thus,

——all things ſmil'd
With fragance, and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.

Both are beautiful, but we will adhere to the firſt, not only becauſe it is in Milton's own editions, which we would never alter in the leaſt pointing, unleſs it is manifeſtly an error of the printer, but this ſenſe is the beſt. Moreover the period is

Myſelf I then perus'd, and limb by limb
Survey'd, and ſometimes went, and ſometimes ran
With ſupple joints, as lively vigor led:
But who I was, or where, or from what cauſe,
Knew not; to ſpeak I try'd, and forthwith ſpake;
My tongue obey'd, and readily could name
Whate'er I ſaw. Thou Sun, ſaid I, fair light,
And thou inlighten'd Earth, ſo freſh and gay,
Ye Hills, and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods, and Plains,
And ye that live and move, fair Creatures tell,
Tell, if ye ſaw, how came I thus, how here?
Not of myſelf; by ſome great Maker then,
In goodneſs and in pow'r præeminent;
Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,

From

rounder, the cadence more muſical, and the expreſſion more poetical. By *fragance* Milton has endevor'd to give an idea of that exquiſite and delicious joy of heart Homer ſo often expreſſes by ἰαύνλαι, a word that ſignifies the fragance that flowers emit after a ſhower or dew. Milton has uſed a like expreſſion in his treatiſe *of Reformation*, p. 2. Edit. 1738. "Methinks a ſovran and "reviving joy muſt needs ruſh into "the boſom of him that reads or "hears, and the ſweet odor of the "returning Goſpel imbath his ſoul "with the *fragance* of Heaven."
Richardſon.

Mr. Richardſon might have further obſerved, that Milton himſelf had expreſſed the ſame thought with more beauty if poſſible in IV. 153. where ſpeaking of Satan's approach to the garden of Paradiſe he ſays,

—And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inſpires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All ſadneſs but deſpair. *Thyer.*

269.—*as lively vigor led:*] We have printed it after the firſt edition, though the ſecond repreſents it thus,

—and

From whom I have that thus I move and live,
And feel that I am happier than I know.
While thus I call'd, and ſtray'd I knew not whither,
From where I firſt drew air, and firſt beheld
This happy light, when anſwer none return'd,
On a green ſhady bank profuſe of flowers
Penſive I ſat me down; there gentle ſleep
Firſt found me, and with ſoft oppreſſion ſeis'd
My drouſed ſenſe, untroubled, though I thought
I then was paſſing to my former ſtate
Inſenſible, and forthwith to diſſolve:
When ſuddenly ſtood at my head a dream,
Whoſe inward apparition gently mov'd
My fancy to believe I yet had being,

And

—— and ſometimes ran
With ſupple joints, *and* lively vigor led.

This reading is follow'd likewiſe in ſome other editions, but we conceive it to be plainly an error of the preſs.

272. —*and readily could name Whate'er I ſaw.*] There is a contradiction between this and ver. 352, &c. In the firſt paſſage Adam ſays that he could name whate'er he ſaw, before he got into Paradiſe. In the ſecond he ſays, that God gave him that ability when the beaſt came to him in Paradiſe. For this laſt paſſage alludes to the rabinical opinion, that he gave names according to their natures (clearer expreſs'd, ver. 438 &c.) and the knowledge of their natures he ſays God then ſuddenly indued him with. *Warburton.*

292.—*ſtood at my head a dream,*] Where buſy fancy, in which thoſe ſtrange dark ſcenes are laid, has its ſeat and reſidence, according to Homer's philoſophic obſervation, Iliad. II. 16, 20.

Βη δ' αρ' ονειρω, επει τον μυθον ακουσε,
Στη δ' αρ' υπερ κεφαλης.

Hume.

296. *Thy*

And liv'd: One came, methought, of ſhape divine,
And ſaid, Thy manſion wants thee, Adam, riſe,
Firſt Man, of men innumerable ordain'd
Firſt Father, call'd by thee I come thy guide
To the garden of bliſs, thy ſeat prepar'd.
So ſaying, by the hand he took me rais'd,
And over fields and waters, as in air
Smooth ſliding without ſtep, laſt led me up
A woody mountain; whoſe high top was plain,
A circuit wide, inclos'd, with goodlieſt trees
Planted, with walks, and bow'rs, that what I ſaw
Of earth before ſcarce pleaſant ſeem'd. Each tree
Loaden with faireſt fruit that hung to th' eye
Tempting,

296. *Thy manſion wants thee,*] Rather *waits thee*, ſays Dr. Bentley. But *wants* is right: as in V. 365.

Thoſe happy places thou haſt deign'd a while
To *want*. Pearce.

300. *So ſaying, by the hand he took me rais'd,*] It is ſaid Gen. II. 15. that *the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dreſs it and to keep it.* Some commentators ſay, that man was not form'd in Paradiſe, but was placed there after he was formed, to ſhew that he had no title to it by nature but by grace: and our author poetically ſuppoſes that he was carried thither ſleeping, and was firſt made to ſee that happy place in viſion. Our poet had perhaps in mind that paſſage of Virgil, where Venus lays young Aſcanius aſleep, and removes him from Carthage to the Idalian groves, Æn. I. 691.

At Venus Aſcanio placidam per membra quietam
Irrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos
Idaliæ lucos; ubi mollis amaracus illum
Floribus, et dulci aſpirans complectitur umbra.

The Goddeſs then to young Aſcanius flies,
And in a pleaſing ſlumber ſeals his eyes;
Lull'd in her lap, amidſt a train of Loves,
She gently bears him to her bliſsful groves:

Then

Tempting, ſtirr'd in me ſudden appetite
To pluck and eat; whereat I wak'd, and found
Before mine eyes all real, as the dream
Had lively ſhadow'd: Here had new begun
My wand'ring, had not he who was my guide
Up hither, from among the trees appeard
Preſence divine. Rejoicing, but with awe,
In adoration at his feet I fell
Submiſs: he rear'd me', and Whom thou ſought'ſt I am,
Said mildly, Author of all this thou ſeeſt
Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
This Paradiſe I give thee, count it thine
To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat:

Of

Then with a wreath of myrtle crowns his head,
And ſoftly lays him on a flow'ry bed. Dryden.

Or if our poet had Scripture ſtill in view, he had authority for ſuch a removal of a perſon, Acts VIII. 39. when *the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, and he was found at Azotus.*

314.—*Rejoicing, but with awe,*] There ſhould moſt certainly be a comma after the word *awe*, altho' there be no printed authorities to juſtify it. It gives a greater ſtrength to the ſenſe, as it confines the *awe* to the *rejoicing*, and thereby expreſſes that mixture of joy and reverence, which the ſcriptures ſo often recommend to us in our approaches to the divine Being. *Thyer.*

316. —— *I am,*] Theſe words make very good ſenſe here in the common acceptation of them: but by Milton's placing them in ſuch an emphatical manner at the end of the verſe, I am of opinion that he might poſſibly allude to the name, which God gave himſelf to Moſes, when he appeared to him in the buſh. Exod. III. 14. *God ſaid unto Moſes* I am that I am; *and he ſaid, Thus ſhalt thou ſay unto the children of Iſrael*, I am *hath ſent me unto you.* John VIII. 58. *Before Abraham was*, I am. *Greenwood.*

320. *To till and keep,*] Dr. Bentley ſays that Paradiſe was not to be *till'd*, but the common earth after the fall: he

Of every tree that in the garden grows
Eat freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:
But of the tree whoſe operation brings
Knowledge of good and ill, which I have ſet
The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith,
Amid the garden by the tree of life,
Remember what I warn thee, ſhun to taſte,
And ſhun the bitter conſequence: for know,
The day thou eat'ſt thereof, my ſole command
Tranſgreſs'd, inevitably thou ſhalt die,
From that day mortal, and this happy ſtate
Shalt loſe, expell'd from hence into a world
Of woe and ſorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
The rigid interjection, which reſounds

Yet

he therefore ſays that Milton deſign'd it *To dreſs and keep*, as in Gen. II. 15. *to dreſs it and to keep it*. This looks like a juſt objection, and yet it is not ſo in reality: for if he had conſulted the original, he would have found that Adam was to *till* as well before as after the fall: while he continued in that garden, he was to *till* that; after his expulſion from thence he was to *till* the common earth. Our poet ſeems here to have approved of the opinion of Fagius (a favourite annotator of his) who in his note on Gen. II. 9. thinks that Adam was to have plough'd and ſow'd in Paradiſe, if he had continued there: and Milton here follows Ainſworth's tranſlation, which has in Gen. II. 15. *to till it and to keep it:* And Ainſworth's tranſlation is more exact than that of our common bible; for not only the original word עבד here uſed is the very ſame with that uſed in Chap. III 23. and which is there rendered to *till*; but the LXX. likewiſe employ one and the ſame word ἐργάζεσθαι in both places, as the Vulgar Latin does *operari*: and the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin word alike ſignify to *labor*, *cultivate*, or *till*. In Chap. III. 23. our tranſlators render it *till*, and they might as well have render'd it ſo Chap. II. 15. ſince that word in the common

Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice
Not to incur; but ſoon his clear aſpect
Return'd, and gracious purpoſe thus renew'd.
Not only theſe fair bounds, but all the earth
To thee and to thy race I give; as lords
Poſſeſs it, and all things that therein live,
Or live in ſea, or air, beaſt, fiſh, and fowl.
In ſign whereof each bird and beaſt behold
After their kinds; I bring them to receive
From thee their names, and pay thee feälty
With low ſubjection; underſtand the ſame
Of fiſh within their watry reſidence,
Not hither ſummon'd, ſince they cannot change
Their element to draw the thinner air.

As

mon acceptation ſignifies no more than to *cultivate*; and therefore Ainſworth has *till*, and Le Clerc *colere* in both places. Our Engliſh Tranſlators choſe to uſe *dreſs*, here, as imagining it (I ſuppoſe) more applicable to a garden. But Dr. Bentley ſhould have conſulted the ancient verſions and the original, and not have truſted to our Engliſh tranſlation, eſpecially before he found fault with an author who underſtood the original ſo well as Milton did. *Pearce.*

323. *But of the tree* &c.] This being the great hinge on which the whole poem turns, Milton has mark'd it ſtrongly. *But of the tree —Remember what I warn thee*—he dwells, expatiates upon it from ver. 323 to 336, repeating, enforcing, fixing every word; 'tis all nerve and energy. *Richardſon.*

330.—*inevitably thou ſhalt die,*] *In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die*, as it is expreſs'd Gen. II. 17. that is *from that day* thou ſhalt become *mortal*, as our poet immediately afterwards explains it.

335. *Yet dreadful in mine ear,*] The impreſſion, which the interdiction of the tree of life left in the mind of our firſt parent is deſcrib'd with great ſtrength and judgment; as the image of the ſeveral beaſts and

As thus he ſpake, each bird and beaſt behold
Approaching two and two, theſe cowring low
With blandiſhment, each bird ſtoop'd on his wing.
I nam'd them, as they paſs'd, and underſtood
Their nature, with ſuch knowledge God indued
My ſudden apprehenſion: but in theſe
I found not what methought I wanted ſtill;
And to the heav'nly viſion thus preſum'd.

O by what name, for thou above all theſe,
Above mankind, or ought than mankind higher,
Surpaſſeſt far my naming, how may I
Adore thee, Author of this univerſe,

And

and birds paſſing in review before him is very beautiful and lively.
Addiſon.

353.—*with ſuch knowledge God indued* &c.] Wonderful was the knowledge of God beſtow'd on Adam, nor that part of it leaſt, which concern'd the naming things aright; as Cicero agrees with Pythagoras; Qui primus, quod ſummæ ſapientiæ Pythagoræ viſum eſt, omnibus rebus nomina impoſuit. Tuſc. Diſp. lib. 1. ſect. 25. *Hume.*

354. ——*but in theſe*
I found not what methought I wanted ſtill;] The account given by Moſes is very ſhort here, as in all the reſt. Gen. II. 19, 20. *And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beaſt of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to ſee what he would call them: and whatſoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattel, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beaſt of the field: but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.* And from this ſhort account our author has rais'd what a noble epiſode! and what a divine dialogue from the latter part only!

357. *O by what name*, &c.] Adam in the next place deſcribes a conference which he held with his Maker upon the ſubject of ſolitude. The poet here repreſents the Supreme Being, as making an eſſay of his own work, and putting to the trial that reaſoning faculty, with which he had indued his creature. Adam urges in this divine colloquy the impoſſibility of his being happy, tho'

And all this good to man? for whoſe well being
So amply, and with hands ſo liberal
Thou haſt provided all things: but with me
I ſee not who partakes. In ſolitude
What happineſs, who can enjoy alone,
Or all enjoying, what contentment find?
Thus I preſumptuous; and the viſion bright,
As with a ſmile more brighten'd, thus reply'd.
What call'ſt thou ſolitude? is not the earth
With various living creatures, and the air
Repleniſh'd, and all theſe at thy command
To come and play before thee? know'ſt thou not
Their

tho' he was the inhabitant of Paradiſe, and lord of the whole creation, without the converſation and ſociety of ſome rational creature, who ſhould partake thoſe bleſſings with him. This dialogue, which is ſupported chiefly by the beauty of the thoughts, without other poetical ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole poem. The more the reader examins the juſtneſs and delicacy of its ſentiments, the more he will find himſelf pleaſed with it. The poet has wonderfully preſerved the character of majeſty and condeſcenſion in the Creator, and at the ſame time that of humility and adoration in the creature. *Addiſon.*

O *by what name,*
O quam te memorem?
Virg. Æn. I. 327.

357. O *by* &c.] It is an unreaſonable as well as untheological ſuppoſition, that God gave man the inſpir'd knowledge of the natures of his fellow-creatures before the nature of his Creator; yet this our poet ſuppoſes. What ſeems to have miſled him was that in the ordinary way of acquiring knowledge we riſe from the creature to the creator. *Warburton.*

372. —— *know'ſt thou not*
Their language and their ways?] That brutes have a kind of language among themſelves is evident and undeniable. There is a treatiſe in French of the language of brutes: and our author ſuppoſes that Adam underſtood this language, and was of knowledge ſuperior to any of his deſcendents, and

Their language and their ways? they alſo know,
And reaſon not contemptibly; with theſe
Find paſtime, and bear rule; thy realm is large.
So ſpake the univerſal Lord, and ſeem'd
So ord'ring, I with leave of ſpeech implor'd,
And humbly deprecation thus reply'd.

Let not my words offend thee, heav'nly Power,
My Maker, be propitious while I ſpeak.
Haſt thou not made me here thy ſubſtitute,
And theſe inferior far beneath me ſet?
Among unequals what ſociety
Can ſort, what harmony or true delight?
Which muſt be mutual, in proportion due
Giv'n

and beſides was aſſiſted by inſpiration, *with ſuch knowledge God indued his ſudden apprehenſion.* He is ſaid by the School Divines to have exceeded Solomon himſelf in knowledge.

379. *Let not my words offend thee,*] Abraham thus implores leave to ſpeak, and makes interceſſion for Sodom with the like humble deprecation. Gen. XVIII. 30. *Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will ſpeak.*

386. —— *but in diſparity* &c.] But in inequality, ſuch as is between brute and rational; *the one intenſe,* man high, wound up, and ſtrain'd to nobler underſtanding, and of more lofty faculty; *the other ſtill remiſs,* the animal let down, and ſlacker, groveling in more low and mean perceptions, can never ſuit together. A muſical metaphor, from ſtrings, of which the ſtretch'd and higheſt gave a ſmart and ſharp ſound, the ſlack a flat and heavy one. *Hume.*

395. *Much leſs can bird with beaſt,*
or fiſh with fowl
So well converſe, nor with the ox
the ape;
Worſe then can man with beaſt, &c.] Dr. Bentley would have us read thus,

But ox with ape *cannot* ſo well converſe,
Much leſs can bird with beaſt, or fiſh with fowl;
Worſe then, &c.

But

Giv'n and receiv'd; but in diſparity
The one intenſe, the other ſtill remiſs
Cannot well ſuit with either, but ſoon prove
Tedious alike: Of fellowſhip I ſpeak
Such as I ſeek, fit to participate
All rational delight, wherein the brute
Cannot be human conſort; they rejoice
Each with their kind, lion with lioneſs;
So fitly them in pairs thou haſt combin'd;
Much leſs can bird with beaſt, or fiſh with fowl
So well converſe, nor with the ox the ape;
Worſe then can man with beaſt, and leaſt of all.
Whereto th' Almighty anſwer'd not diſpleas'd.

A

But this reading is faulty in the diction; for it names *ox* and *ape* without the article *the* before them. When Milton ſpeaks of general things as *bird*, *beaſt* and *fiſh*, he drops the article; but he always uſes it when particular kinds are mention'd; and this grammar requires. Well, but what is the fault of the common reading? The Doctor ſays that the *ox* is nearer to the *ape* than *bird* is to *beaſt*, &c. ſo that the diſharmony diminiſhes by the order of the phraſe, inſtead of increaſing. This objection will be removed by conſidering the ſenſe of the whole paſſage, which the Doctor ſeems not to have conſider'd aright. *The brute* (ſays Milton ver. 391.) *cannot be human conſort in rational delight*, i. e. cannot converſe with man in that way: and then he adds here *Much leſs can bird well converſe ſo with beaſt*, &c. i. e. leſs ſtill can one irrational animal converſe in this way with another irrational animal; not only if they be of a different ſpecies, as bird and beaſt, fiſh and fowl are; but even if they be of the ſame ſpecies, as the *ox* and *ape* are; the moſt widely different creatures of any which are of the ſame ſpecies. But leaſt of all can man converſe in a rational way with any of the beaſts or irrational creatures. Is not here a very proper gradation? *Pearce.*

A nice and ſubtle happineſs I ſee
Thou to thyſelf propoſeſt, in the choice
Of thy aſſociates, Adam, and wilt taſte
No pleaſure, though in pleaſure, ſolitary.
What think'ſt thou then of me, and this my ſtate?
Seem I to thee ſufficiently poſſeſs'd
Of happineſs, or not? who am alone
From all eternity, for none I know
Second to me or like, equal much leſs.
How have I then with whom to hold converſe
Save with the creatures which I made, and thoſe
To me inferior, infinite deſcents
Beneath what other creatures are to thee?
He ceas'd, I lowly anſwer'd. To attain
The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
All human thoughts come ſhort, Supreme of things;
Thou in thyſelf art perfect, and in thee
Is no deficience found; not ſo is Man,
But in degree, the cauſe of his deſire

By

406. ——*none I know*
Second to me or like,] Nec viget quicquam ſimile aut ſecundum. Hor. Od. I. XII, 18.

413. *The highth and depth of thy eternal ways* &c.] Rom. XI. 33. *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out!*

421. *And through all numbers abſolute,*] A Latin expreſſion, *omnibus*

By converſation with his like to help,
Or ſolace his defects. No need that thou
Shouldſt propagate, already infinite,
And through all numbers abſolute, though one;
But Man by number is to manifeſt
His ſingle imperfection, and beget
Like of his like, his image multiply'd,
In unity defective, which requires
Collateral love, and deareſt amity.
Thou in thy ſecreſy although alone,
Beſt with thyſelf accompanied, ſeek'ſt not
Social communication, yet ſo pleas'd,
Canſt raiſe thy creature to what highth thou wilt
Of union or communion, deify'd;
I by converſing cannot theſe erect
From prone, nor in their ways complacence find.
Thus I imbolden'd ſpake, and freedom us'd
Permiſſive, and acceptance found, which gain'd
This anſwer from the gracious voice divine.

Thus

omnibus numeris abſolutus, as Cicero ſays, and means perfect in all its parts, and complete in every thing; quod expletum ſit omnibus ſuis numeris et partibus, as Cicero elſewhere expreſſes it: but there ſeems to be a low conceit in the expreſſion, And through all *numbers* abſolute, though *one*.

423. *His ſingle imperfection,*] That is the imperfection of him ſingle. A frequent way of ſpeaking in Milton. *Pearce.*

Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
And find thee knowing not of beaſts alone,
Which thou haſt rightly nam'd, but of thyſelf,
Expreſſing well the ſpi'rit within thee free,
My image, not imparted to the brute,
Whoſe fellowſhip therefore unmeet for thee
Good reaſon was thou freely ſhouldſt diſlike,
And be ſo minded ſtill; I, ere thou ſpak'ſt,
Knew it not good for Man to be alone,
And no ſuch company as then thou ſaw'ſt
Intended thee, for trial only brought,
To ſee how thou could'ſt judge of fit and meet:
What

440. *Expreſſing well the ſpi'rit within thee free,*
My image,] Milton is upon all occaſions a ſtrenuous advocate for the freedom of the human mind againſt the narrow and rigid notions of the Calviniſts of that age, and here in the ſame ſpirit ſuppoſes the very image of God in which man was made to conſiſt in this liberty. The ſentiment is very grand, and this ſenſe of the words is, in my opinion, full as probable as any of thoſe many which the commentators have put upon them, in as much as no property of the ſoul of man diſtinguiſhes him better from the brutes, or aſſimilates him more to his Creator. This notion, tho' uncommon, is not peculiar to Milton; for I find Clarius, in his remark upon this paſſage of Scripture referring to St. Baſil the great for the ſame interpretation. See Clarius amongſt the Critici Sacri. *Thyer.*

444. —— *I, ere thou ſpak'ſt,*
Knew it not good for Man to be alone,] For we read, Gen. II. 18. *And the Lord God ſaid, It is not good that the Man ſhould be alone; I will make him an help meet for him:* And then ver. 19. and 20. God brings the beaſts and birds before Adam, and Adam gives them names, *but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him*; as if Adam had now diſcover'd it himſelf likewiſe: and from this little hint our author has rais'd this dialogue between Adam and his Maker. And then follows both in Moſes and in Milton the

What next I bring ſhall pleaſe thee, be aſſur'd,
Thy likeneſs, thy fit help, thy other ſelf,
Thy wiſh exactly to thy heart's deſire.
He ended, or I heard no more, for now
My earthly by his heav'nly overpower'd,
Which it had long ſtood under, ſtrain'd to th' highth
In that celeſtial colloquy ſublime,
As with an object that excels the ſenſe
Dazled and ſpent, ſunk down, and ſought repair
Of ſleep, which inſtantly fell on me, call'd
By nature as in aid, and clos'd mine eyes.
Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell
Of

the account of the formation of Eve and inſtitution of marriage.

453. *My earthly by his heav'nly overpower'd,*] The Scripture ſays only, that *the Lord God cauſed a deep ſleep to fall upon Adam,* Gen. II. 21. and our author endevors to give ſome account how it was effected: Adam was overpower'd by converſing with ſo ſuperior a being, his faculties having been all ſtrain'd and exerted to the highth, and now he ſunk down quite dazled and ſpent, and ſought repair of ſleep, which inſtantly fell on him, and clos'd his eyes. *Mine eyes he clos'd,* ſays he again, turning the words, and making ſleep a perſon as the ancient poets often do.

460. *Mine eyes he clos'd,* &c.] Adam then proceeds to give an account of his ſecond ſleep, and of the dream in which he beheld the formation of Eve. The new paſſion that was awaken'd in him at the ſight of her is touch'd very finely. Adam's diſtreſs upon loſing ſight of this beautiful phantom, with his exclamations of joy and gratitude at the diſcovery of a real creature, who reſembled the apparition which had been preſented to him in his dream; the approaches he makes to her, and his manner of courtſhip, are all laid together in a moſt exquiſite propriety of ſentiments. Tho' this part of the poem is work'd up with great warmth and ſpirit, the love which is deſcribed in it is every way ſuitable to a ſtate of innocence. If the reader compares the deſcription which Adam here gives of his lead-

Of fancy my internal ſight, by which
Abſtract as in a trance methought I ſaw,
Though ſleeping, where I lay, and ſaw the ſhape
Still glorious before whom awake I ſtood:
Who ſtooping open'd my left ſide, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial ſpirits warm,
And

ing Eve to the nuptial bower, with that which Mr. Dryden has made on the ſame occaſion in a ſcene of his *Fall of Man*, he will be ſenſible of the great care which Milton took to avoid all thoughts on ſo delicate a ſubject, that might be offenſive to religion or good manners. The ſentiments are chaſte, but not cold; and convey to the mind ideas of the moſt tranſporting paſſion, and of the greateſt purity. *Addiſon.*

462. *Abſtract as in a trance*] For the word, that we tranſlate a *deep ſleep*, Gen. II. 21. *The Lord God cauſed a deep ſleep to fall upon Adam*, the Greek interpreters render by *trance* or *ecſtaſy*, in which the perſon is *abſtract*, is withdrawn as it were from himſelf, and ſtill ſees things, tho' his ſenſes are all lock'd up. So that Adam ſees his wife, as he did Paradiſe, firſt in viſion.

465.—*open'd my left ſide, and took*
From thence a rib,—wide was the wound,
But ſuddenly with fleſh fill'd up and heal'd:] Gen. II. 21. *And he took one of his ribs, and cloſed up the fleſh inſtead thereof.* The Scripture ſays only *one of his ribs*, but Milton follows thoſe interpreters who ſuppoſe this rib was taken from the left ſide, as being nearer to the heart.

469.—*faſhion'd*] Spelt after the French *façon*.

470. *Under his forming hands a creature grew*, &c.] This whole account of the formation of Eve, and of the firſt meeting and nuptials of Adam and Eve is deliver'd in the moſt natural and eaſy language, and calls to mind an obſervation of Mr. Pope upon Milton's ſtile, in his Poſtſcript to the Odyſſey, "The imitators of Milton, like moſt "other imitators, are not copies but "caricatura's of their original; they "are a hundred times more obſolete "and cramp than he, and equally "ſo in all places: Whereas it ſhould "have been obſerv'd of Milton "that he is not laviſh of his exotic "words and phraſes every where "alike, but employs them much "more where the ſubject is marvelous, vaſt and ſtrange, as in the "ſcenes of Heaven, Hell, Chaos, "&c. than where it is turned to the "natural and agreeable, as in the "pictures of Paradiſe, the loves of "our firſt parents, the entertainments of Angels and the like. In "general, this unuſual ſtile better "ſerves to awaken our ideas in the "deſcrip-

And life-blood ſtreaming freſh; wide was the wound,
But ſuddenly with fleſh fill'd up and heal'd:
The rib he form'd and faſhon'd with his hands;
Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Manlike, but different ſex, ſo lovely fair,
That what ſeem'd fair in all the world, ſeem'd now
Mean,

" deſcriptions and in the imaging " and pictureſque parts, than it a- " grees with the lower ſort of nar- " rations, the character of which is " ſimplicity and purity. Milton has " ſeveral of the latter, where we " find not an antiquated, affected, " or uncouth word, for ſome hun- " dred lines together; as in his fifth " book, the latter part of the eighth, " the former of the tenth and ele- " venth books, and in the narration " of Michael in the twelfth. I won- " der indeed that he, who ventur'd " (contrary to the practice of all " other epic poets) to imitate Ho- " mer's lowneſſes in the *narrative*, " ſhould not alſo have copied his " plainneſs and perſpicuity in the " *dramatic* parts: ſince in his " ſpeeches (where clearneſs above " all is neceſſary) there is frequent- " ly ſuch tranſpoſition and forced " conſtruction, that the very ſenſe " is not to be diſcover'd without a " ſecond or third reading: and in " this certainly he ought to be no " example."

471. ——*ſo lovely fair,*
That what ſeem'd fair in all the world, ſeem'd now
Mean,] The poſition of the words with the pauſe in the firſt ſyllable of the verſe upon the adjective *mean*, has a wonderful effect, and gives great force to the ſentence. No collocation of words can exceed this in beauty. I remember an adjective placed much in the ſame manner in Virgil, Georg. I. 476.

Vox quoque per lucos vulgò exaudita ſilentes
Ingens—

The placing of the word *ingens* is admirable, and makes one almoſt hear the loud diſmal voice groaning thro' the groves.

471. ——*ſo lovely fair,*
That what ſeem'd fair in all the world, ſeem'd now
Mean, or in her ſumm'd up, in her contain'd
And in her looks,] This is the ſame with that which Marino makes Venus ſay to Paris in the picture ſhe is giving him of Helen. Adon. Cant. 2. St. 173.

Sì ben d'ogni bellezza in quel bel volto
Epilogato il cumulo s' uniſce,
E sì perfettamente inſieme accolto
Quanto hà di bel la terra, in lei fioriſce. *Thyer.*

Mean, or in her ſumm'd up, in her contain'd
And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
Sweetneſs into my heart, unfelt before,
And into all things from her air inſpir'd
The ſpi'rit of love and amorous delight.
She diſappear'd, and left me dark; I wak'd
To find her, or for ever to deplore
Her loſs, and other pleaſures all abjure:
When out of hope, behold her, not far off,
Such as I ſaw in her my dream, adorn'd
With what all Earth or Heaven could beſtow
To make her amiable: On ſhe came,

Led

476. *And into all things from her air inſpir'd*
The ſpi'rit of love and amorous delight.] Lucretius IV. 1047.

Seu mulier toto jactans è corpore amorem. *Bentley.*

The very ſame compliment Marino pays to the three Goddeſſes, when they deſcended upon mount Ida to preſent themſelves before Paris,

Ne preſente vi fù creata coſa,
Che non ſentiſſe in sè forza amoroſa. Adon. Cant. 2. St. 125.

The Italian poet, with a ſurpriſing redundancy of fancy and beauty of expreſſion, carries on and explains the ſame thought for ſix ſtanzas together, but the graver turn of our author's poem, and the divine character of the perſon Adam is talking to would have made an imitation in this reſpect indecent and inconſiſtent. *Thyer.*

478. *She diſappear'd, and left me dark;*] She that was my light vaniſh'd, and left me dark and comfortleſs. For *light* is in almoſt all languages a metaphor for *joy* and *comfort*, and darkneſs for the contrary. As Dr. Pearce obſerves, it is ſomething of the ſame way of thinking that Milton uſes in his ſonnet on his deceaſed wife; after having deſcribed her as appearing to him, he ſays,

She fled, and day brought back my night.

485. *Led by her heav'nly Maker,*] For the Scripture ſays, Gen. II. 22.

that

Led by her heav'nly Maker, though unſeen,
And guided by his voice, nor uninform'd
Of nuptial ſanctity and marriage rites:
Grace was in all her ſteps, Heav'n in her eye,
In every geſture dignity and love.
I overjoy'd could not forbear aloud.
This turn hath made amends; thou haſt fulfill'd
Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,
Giver of all things fair, but faireſt this
Of all thy gifts, nor envieſt. I now ſee
Bone of my bone, fleſh of my fleſh, myſelf
Before me; Woman is her name, of Man

Ex-

that *the Lord God brought her unto the Man*; and our author ſtill alluding to this text ſays afterwards, ver. 500. that ſhe was *divinely brought*.

488.—*Heav'n in her eye,*] Give me leave to quote a paſſage from Shakeſpear's Troilus, which ſeems to have been in our author's view, Act IV.

Diom. Lady Creſſid,
So pleaſe you, ſave the thanks this prince expects:
The luſtre in your eye, Heav'n in your cheek,
Pleads your fair uſage.

494.——*nor envieſt.*] The verb *envieſt* is join'd in conſtruction to *thou haſt fulfill'd*: There is then no ſuch looſe ſyntax here, as Dr. Bentley imagins; nor will the words *nor envieſt* be too flat for the preſent paſſion (as the Doctor ſays) if we underſtand by them, Nor thinkeſt this gift too good for me. See concerning the ſenſe of this word the note on I. 259. Dr. Bentley reads

——faireſt this
Of all thy gifts, *and deareſt.*
Pearce.

495. *Bone of my bone,* &c.] As if he ſhould ſay, *O my Creator, thoſe creatures which thou broughteſt to me before, were neither like, nor ſuitable to me, but this that now thou haſt beſtow'd upon me, is bone of my bone, my own ſimilitude, myſelf.* That Adam, waking from his deep ſleep, ſhould in words ſo expreſs and prophetic own and clame his companion, gave ground to that opinion, that he was

not

Extracted; for this cauſe he ſhall forego
Father and mother, and to' his wife adhere;
And they ſhall be one fleſh, one heart, one ſoul.
She heard me thus, and though divinely brought,
Yet innocence and virgin modeſty,
Her virtue and the conſcience of her worth,
That would be woo'd, and not unſought be won,
Not obvious, not obtruſive, but retir'd,
The more deſirable, or to ſay all,
Nature

not only aſleep, but intranc'd too, by which he ſaw all that was done to him, and underſtood the myſtery of it, God informing his underſtanding in his ecſtaſy. *Hume.*

498.—*and to' his wife adhere*;] Adhærebit uxori ſuæ, as it is in the vulgar Latin; *ſhall cleave unto his wife*, ſays the Engliſh Bible. But we will ſet down the whole paſſage in Geneſis at length, that the reader may compare it with our author. Gen. II. 23, 24. *And Adam ſaid, This is now bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh; ſhe ſhall be called Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man. Therefore ſhall a man leave his father and his mother, and ſhall cleave unto his wife; and they ſhall be one fleſh.* How has Milton improved upon the laſt words, *and they ſhall be one fleſh*; and what an admirable climax has he form'd!

And they ſhall be one fleſh, one heart, one ſoul.

And by the way we may obſerve, that there may be great force and beauty in a verſe, that conſiſts all of monoſyllables. It is true indeed that

—ten low words oft creep in one dull line:

but there are ſeveral monoſyllable verſes in Milton as ſtrong and ſublime, as beautiful and harmonious as can poſſibly be written. No number of ſyllables can equal the force of theſe monoſyllables, II. 621, and 950.

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and ſhades of death.
And ſwims, or ſinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

And abundance of other inſtances might eaſily be cited. And certainly monoſyllables uſed properly add much to the ſtrength and conciſeneſs of our language.

502. *Her virtue and the conſcience of her worth,*] Dr. Bentley propoſes to read,

Her

Nature herſelf, though pure of ſinful thought,
Wrought in her ſo, that ſeeing me, ſhe turn'd;
I follow'd her, ſhe what was honor knew,
And with obſequious majeſty approv'd
My pleaded reaſon. To the nuptial bower
I led her bluſhing like the morn: all Heaven,
And happy conſtellations on that hour
Shed their ſelecteſt influence; the earth
Gave ſign of gratulation, and each hill;

Joyous

Her virtue and her *conſciouſneſs* of worth,

The word *conſcience* (ſays he) is here taken in a ſignification unwarranted by uſe. But the fact is quite otherwiſe; for in our Engliſh verſion of the Bible the word is often uſed in this ſenſe: thus in Heb. X. 2. *ſhould have had no more* conſcience *of ſins*. 1 Cor. VIII. 7. *Some with* conſcience *of the idol eat*. And thus *conſcientia* is uſed by the Latin authors, as in Cicero de Senect. *Conſcientia* bene actæ vitæ jucundiſſima eſt.

Pearce.

505.——*or to ſay all*, &c.] The conſtruction of the whole paſſage is this, Though ſhe was divinely brought, yet innocence and virgin modeſty, her virtue and the conſcience of her worth, or to ſay all, nature herſelf wrought in her ſo, that ſeeing me ſhe turn'd. *Wrought* is the verb, and the nominative caſes are *innocence* and *virgin modeſty*, *virtue*, and *conſcience* of worth, and *nature*. We mention this becauſe the paſſage hath been miſunderſtood by Dr. Bentley, and may be ſo again by others.

509. *And with obſequious majeſty approv'd*] How exactly does our author preſerve the ſame character of Eve in all places where he ſpeaks of her! This *obſequious majeſty* is the very ſame with the *coy ſubmiſſion*, *modeſt pride* in the fourth book, and both not unlike what Spenſer has in his Epithalamium.

Behold how goodly my fair Love doth lie
In proud humility. Thyer.

513. ——*the earth*
Gave ſign of gratulation, &c.] This is a copy from Homer, Iliad. XIV. 347. where the creation is made to give the like tokens of joy at the amorous congreſs of Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida.

Τοισι δ' ὑπο χθων δια φυεν νεοθηλεα ποιην &c.

Glad

Joyous the birds; freſh gales and gentle airs
Whiſper'd it to the woods, and from their wings
Flung roſe, flung odors from the ſpicy ſhrub,
Diſporting, till the amorous bird of night
Sung ſpouſal, and bid haſte the evening ſtar
On his hill top, to light the bridal lamp.
Thus have I told thee all my ſtate, and brought
My ſtory to the ſum of earthly bliſs

Which

Glad earth perceives, and from her boſom pours
Unbidden herbs, and voluntary flow'rs——
There golden clouds conceal the heav'nly pair,
Steep'd in ſoft joys, and circumfus'd with air;
Celeſtial dews, deſcending o'er the ground,
Perfume the mount, and breathe Ambroſia round. Pope.

But Milton has greatly improv'd this, as he improves every thing, in the imitation. In all his copies of the beautiful paſſages of other authors he ſtudiouſly varies and diſguiſes them, the better to give himſelf the air of an original, and to make by his additions and improvements what he borrow'd the more fairly his own; the only regular way of acquiring a property in thoughts taken from other writers, if we may believe Horace, whoſe laws in poetry are of undoubted authority. De Art. Poet. 131.

Publica materies privati juris erit, ſi
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres, &c.

For what originally others writ,
May be ſo well diſguis'd, and ſo improv'd,
That with ſome juſtice it may paſs for yours:
But then you muſt not copy trivial things,
Nor word for word too faithfully tranſlate. Roſcommon.

Milton indeed in what he borrows from Scripture, obſerves the contrary rule, and generally adheres minutely, or rather religiouſly, to the very words as much as poſſible of the original.

519.——*and bid haſte the evening ſtar*
On his hill top, to light the bridal lamp.] *The evening ſtar* is ſaid to *light the bridal lamp*, as it was the ſignal among the Ancients to light their lamps and torches in order

Which I enjoy, and muſt confeſs to find
In all things elſe delight indeed, but ſuch
As us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement deſire, theſe delicacies
I mean of taſte, ſight, ſmell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
Walks, and the melody of birds; but here
Far otherwiſe, tranſported I behold,
Tranſported touch; here paſſion firſt I felt,

Com-

order to conduct the bride home to the bridegroom.

Veſper adeſt, juvenes conſurgite &c. Catul.

On his hill top, ſays our author, writing in the language as well as in the ſpirit of the Ancients; for when this ſtar appear'd eaſtward in the morning, it was ſaid to riſe on mount Ida.

Jamque jugis ſummæ ſurgebat Lucifer Idæ,
Ducebatque diem.
Virg. Æn. II. 801.

when it appear'd weſtward in the evening, it was ſaid to be ſeen on mount Oeta. Virg. Ecl. VIII. 30.

Sparge marite nuces, tibi deſerit Heſperus Oetam.

Our author therefore writes in claſſical language. He does not mention any mountain by name, but ſays only *the evening ſtar on his hill top*, as appearing above the hills. And ſo Spenſer ſays of the ſun, Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 1

——Phœbus' fiery car
In haſte was climbing up the eaſtern *hill*.

And Shakeſpear, Romeo and Juliet, Act II.

Now is the ſun upon the highmoſt *hill*
Of this day's journey.

And this ceremony of the Ancients of lighting their bridal lamps and torches at evening is alluded to more plainly in Book XI. 588.

And now of love they treat, till th' evening ſtar,
Love's harbinger, appear'd; then all in heat
They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then firſt to marriage rites invok'd.

528. ——*but here*
Far otherwiſe, &c.] What a noble mixture of rapture and innocence has the author join'd together, in the reflections which Adam makes on the pleaſures of love compar'd, to thoſe of ſenſe! *Addiſon.*

537.—*at*

Commotion ſtrange, in all enjoyments elſe
Superior and unmov'd, here only weak
Againſt the charm of beauty's pow'rful glance.
Or nature fail'd in me, and left ſome part
Not proof enough ſuch object to ſuſtain,
Or from my ſide ſubducting, took perhaps
More than enough; at leaſt on her beſtow'd
Too much of ornament, in outward ſhow
Elaborate, of inward leſs exact.
For well I underſtand in the prime end
Of nature her th' inferior, in the mind
And inward faculties, which moſt excel,
In outward alſo her reſembling leſs
His image who made both, and leſs expreſſing
The character of that dominion given
O'er other creatures; yet when I approach

Her

537.——*at leaſt on her beſtow'd*
Too much of ornament, in outward ſhow
Elaborate, of inward leſs exact.] The poet has inlarg'd upon the ſame ſentiment in his Samſon Agoniſtes.

Is it for that ſuch outward ornament
Was laviſh'd on their ſex, that inward gifts
Were left for haſte unfiniſh'd, judgment ſcant,
Capacity not rais'd to apprehend,
Or value what is beſt
In choice, but oftеſt to affect the wrong?

543. ——*reſembling leſs*
His image &c.] Milton here ſeems to adopt the opinion, that the image of God in man was the dominion given to him over the creatures, contrary to the ſenſe he follows at ver. 440. but this is not the only inſtance, where in different places he goes upon different hypotheſes, as may beſt ſuit with his ſubject. See his different conſtruction of the ſons of

God

Her lovelineſs, ſo abſolute ſhe ſeems
And in herſelf complete, ſo well to know
Her own, that what ſhe wills to do or ſay,
Seems wiſeſt, virtuouſeſt, diſcreeteſt, beſt;
All higher knowledge in her preſence falls
Degraded, wiſdom in diſcourſe with her
Loſes diſcountenanc'd, and like folly ſhows;
Authority and reaſon on her wait,
As one intended firſt, not after made
Occaſionally; and to conſummate all,
Greatneſs of mind, and nobleneſs their ſeat
Build in her loveliеſt, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic plac'd.
To whom the Angel with contracted brow.
Accuſe not nature, ſhe hath done her part;
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident

Of

God going in to the daughters of men in Paradiſe Loſt, and Paradiſe Regain'd. *Thyer.*

547.——*ſo abſolute*] So finiſh'd, ſo perfect, ſo *complete*, as it is ſaid in the next line, and as the word is explain'd in the note upon ver. 421. And ſo *abſolv'd* is uſed VII. 94.

560. *To whom the Angel with contracted brow.*] Theſe ſentiments of love in our firſt parent gave the Angel ſuch an inſight into human nature, that he ſeems apprehenſive of the evils which might befal the ſpecies in general, as well as Adam in particular, from the exceſs of this paſſion. He therefore fortifies him againſt it by timely admonitions; which very artfully prepare the mind of the reader for the occurrences of the next book, where the weakneſs of which Adam here gives ſuch diſtant diſcoveries, brings about that fatal event which is the ſubject of the poem. *Addiſon.*

568.—*and*

Of wiſdom, ſhe deſerts thee not, if thou
Diſmiſs not her, when moſt thou need'ſt her nigh,
By attributing overmuch to things
Leſs excellent, as thou thyſelf perceiv'ſt.
For what admir'ſt thou, what tranſports thee ſo,
An outſide? fair no doubt, and worthy well
Thy cheriſhing, thy honoring, and thy love,
Not thy ſubjection: weigh with her thyſelf;
Then value: Oft-times nothing profits more
Than ſelf eſteem, grounded on juſt and right
Well manag'd; of that ſkill the more thou know'ſt,
The more ſhe will acknowledge thee her head,
And to realties yield all her ſhows:
Made ſo adorn for thy delight the more,

So

568. ——*and worthy well*
Thy cheriſhing, thy honoring, and thy love,] He maketh uſe of theſe three words agreeable to Scripture. *So ought men to love their wives, as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife, loveth himſelf: For no man ever yet hated his own fleſh, but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it.* Eph. V. 28, 29. *Giving honor unto the wife,* 1 Pet. III. 7.

576. *Made ſo adorn* &c.] Theſe verſes contain a beautiful and inſtructive account of the end for which God beſtowed on Eve ſo much of ornament and awfulneſs. But two ſuch participles as *made adorn'd* would have ſounded very odly together; and therefore he has coin'd an adjective *adorn*, as the Italians have *adorno* for *adornato*. And in like manner he uſes *fledge* for *fledg'd*, III. 627. VII. 420. And *devote* for *devoted*, IX. 901. And there are other inſtances of his changing the participle into an adjective.

579. *But if the ſenſe of touch* &c.] Anſwering to what Adam had ſaid before,

——tranſported I behold,
Tranſported touch

589.—*love*

So awful, that with honor thou may'ſt love
Thy mate, who ſees when thou art ſeen leaſt wiſe.
But if the ſenſe of touch whereby mankind
Is propagated ſeem ſuch dear delight
Beyond all other, think the ſame vouchſaf'd
To cattel and each beaſt; which would not be
To them made common and divulg'd, if ought
Therein enjoy'd were worthy to ſubdue
The ſoul of man, or paſſion in him move.
What high'er in her ſociety thou find'ſt
Attractive, human, rational, love ſtill;
In loving thou doſt well, in paſſion not,
Wherein true love conſiſts not; love refines
The thoughts, and heart inlarges, hath his ſeat

In

589. —— *love refines*
The thoughts, and heart inlarges, &c.] So Spenſer to whom our author ſeems to allude by his manner of expreſſion.

Such is the pow'r of that ſweet paſſion,
That it all ſordid baſeneſs doth expel,
And the refined mind doth newly faſhion
Unto a fairer form.
Spenſer's Hymn of Love.

He ſuffereth it thought of ungentleneſs
Ever to creep into his noble breaſt;
But to the higheſt and the worthieſt
Lifteth it up that elſe would lowly fall.
Faery Queen, B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 2.

See alſo B. 3. Cant. 1. St. 1. But there is no doubt, I think, to be made, that both theſe admired poets had in view the refined theory of love of the divine Plato, and that Milton in particular in what he ſays here had his eye more eſpecially upon the following paſſage, where *the ſcale by which we muſt aſcend to heav'nly love*, is both mention'd and deſcribed. Τ. γαρ δι εστι το ορθως επι τα ερωτικα ιοντα, η υπ' αλλου αστ. βαι,

In rea'ſon, and is judicious, is the ſcale
By which to heav'nly love thou may'ſt aſcend,
Not ſunk in carnal pleaſure, for which cauſe
Among the beaſts no mate for thee was found.
To whom thus half abaſh'd Adam reply'd.
Neither her outſide form'd ſo fair, nor ought
In procreation common to all kinds
(Though higher of the genial bed by far,
And with myſtrious reverence I deem)
So much delights me, as thoſe graceful acts,
Thoſe thouſand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions mix'd with love
And ſweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union

αἰσθαι, αρχομενον απο των δε των καλων εκεινω ἑνικα τω καλω, αει επανιεναι· ὡσπερ επαναβαθμοις χρωμενον απο ενὸς επι δυο, και απο δυειν επι παντα τα καλα σωματα, και απο των καλων σωματων επι τα καλα επιτηδευματα, και απο των καλων επιτηδευματων επι τα καλα μαθηματα· εξ' αν απο των μαθηματων επ' εκεινο το μαθημα τελευτηση, ὁ ἐστιν ουκ αλλω η αυτω εκεινω τω καλω μαθημα, και γνω αυτο τελευτων ὁ ἐστι καλον. Plat. Conviv. p. 211. tom. 3. Edit. Serrani. This is the more probable from what Milton ſays in the account which he gives of himſelf. "Thus from the "laureat fraternity of poets, ri-"per years, and the ceaſeleſs "round of ſtudy and reading, led "me to the ſhady ſpaces of phi-"loſophy; but chiefly to the di-"vine volumes of Plato, and his "equal Xenophon: where if I "ſhould tell ye what I learnt of "chaſtity and love, I mean that "which is truly ſo" &c. Apol. for Smectymn. p. 111. Vol. I. Edit. 1738. *Thyer.*

591. ——*and is judicious,*] To be *judicious* means here to chooſe proper qualities in Eve for the object of love; to love her only for what is truly amiable: *not for the ſenſe of touch whereby mankind is propagated,* ver. 579, &c; but for what Adam found *higher in her ſociety, human, and rational,* ver. 586. &c. *Pearce.*

595. *To*

Union of mind, or in us both one ſoul;
Harmony to behold in wedded pair
More grateful than harmonious ſound to th' ear.
Yet theſe ſubject not; I to thee diſcloſe
What inward thence I feel, not therefore foil'd,
Who meet with various objects, from the ſenſe
Variouſly repreſenting; yet ſtill free
Approve the beſt, and follow what I approve.
To love thou blam'ſt me not, for love thou ſay'ſt
Leads up to Heav'n, is both the way and guide;
Bear with me then, if lawful what I aſk;
Love not the heav'nly Spirits, and how their love
Expreſs they, by looks only', or do they mix

Irra-

595. *To whom thus half abaſh'd Adam reply'd.*] Adam's diſcourſe, which follows the gentle rebuke he received from the Angel, ſhows that his love, however violent it might appear, was ſtill founded in reaſon, and conſequently not improper for Paradiſe. *Addiſon.*

To whom thus half abaſh'd Adam reply'd.

This verſe might have been turn'd otherwiſe,

To whom thus Adam half abaſh'd reply'd,

and many perhaps will think that it runs ſmoother thus. But let the reader conſider again, whether the verſe as it is in Milton does not better expreſs the ſhame and modeſt confuſion of Adam.

598. *Though higher of the genial bed by far,*] The *genial bed*, ſo Horace, Ep. I. I. 87. *lectus genialis*. *And with myſterious reverence I deem.* He had applied this epithet to marriage before in IV. 743.

——Nor Eve the rites
Myſterious of connubial love refus'd:

And again, ver. 750.

Hail wedded love, *myſterious* law.

He means by it ſomething that was not proper to be divulg'd, but ought to be kept in religious ſilence and rever'd like the myſteries.

Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?
To whom the Angel with a ſmile that glow'd
Celeſtial roſy red, love's proper hue,
Anſwer'd. Let it ſuffice thee that thou know'ſt
Us happy, and without love no happineſs.
Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'ſt
(And pure thou wert created) we enjoy
In eminence, and obſtacle find none
Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars;
Eaſier than air with air, if Spi'rits embrace,
Total they mix, union of pure with pure
Deſiring; nor reſtrain'd conveyance need

As

618. *To whom the Angel with a ſmile that glow'd*
Celeſtial roſy red,] Does not our author here mean that the Angel both ſmil'd and bluſh'd at Adam's curioſity? Arioſto makes the Angel Michael change color upon a certain occaſion,

Nel viſo s'arroſsì l'Angelo beato,
Parendogli che mal foſſe ubidito
Al Creatore;
Orl. Fur. Cant. 27. St. 35.

Loaden with fruit and apples *roſy red.*

Spenſer, Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 46. *Thyer.*

627. —*union of pure with pure*
Deſiring; nor reſtrain'd conveyance need.
As fleſh to mix with fleſh, or ſoul with ſoul.] The two laſt of theſe verſes Dr. Bentley would throw out: he has ſeveral objections to them; but they will be all anſwer'd by conſidering the ſenſe of the paſſage. Raphael had ſaid that Spirits *mix total*; that is one circumſtance, in which they differ from men: here he adds another circumſtance of their difference, *viz.* they are ſo unreſtrain'd that they *need no conveyance*, that is, need not move to meet one another, as our fleſh does to mix with other fleſh, and one ſoul with another ſoul, mediante corpore. In fewer words, Spirits (ſays Raphael) not only mix total, but they mix at a diſtance, and without approaching each other. This is Milton's ſenſe; and now that unintelligible ſtuff (as the Doctor calls it) *need conveyance, as ſoul to mix with ſoul*, is become very eaſy to be underſtood. *Pearce.*

630. *But*

As fleſh to mix with fleſh, or ſoul with ſoul.
But I can now no more; the parting ſun
Beyond the earth's green Cape and verdant Iles
Heſperian ſets, my ſignal to depart.
Be ſtrong, live happy', and love, but firſt of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed leſt paſſion ſway
Thy judgment to do ought, which elſe free will
Would not admit; thine and of all thy ſons
The weal or woe in thee is plac'd; beware.
I in thy perſevering ſhall rejoice,
And all the Bleſt: ſtand faſt; to ſtand or fall
Free

630. *But I can now no more; the parting ſun* &c.] The converſation was now become of ſuch a nature that it was proper to put an end to it: And now the *parting ſun beyond the earth's green Cape*, beyond Cape de Verd the moſt weſtern point of Africa, *and verdant Iles*, the ilands of Cape de Verd, a knot of ſmall ilands lying off Cape de Verd, ſubject to the Portugueſe, *Heſperian ſets*, ſets weſtward, from Heſperus the evening ſtar appearing there, *my ſignal to depart*, for he was only to ſtay till the evening, V. 376.

—for theſe mid hours, till evening riſe,
I have at will.

And he very properly cloſes his diſcourſe with thoſe moral inſtructions, which ſhould make the moſt laſting impreſſion on the mind of Adam, and to deliver which was the principal end and deſign of the Angel's coming.

634. *Him whom to love is to obey*,] For *this is the love of God that we keep his commandments*. 1 John V. 3. *His great command* every body will readily underſtand to be the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, which was to be the trial of Adam's obedience.

637. *Would not admit*;] *Admit* is uſed in the Latin ſenſe, as in Terence, Heaut. V. II. 3. Quid ego tantum ſceleris *admiſi* miſer? What great wickedneſs have I committed?

637.—*thine and of all thy ſons* &c.] In te omnis domus inclinata recumbit. Virg. Æn. XII. 59.

Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.
Perfect within, no outward aid require;
And all temptation to tranſgreſs repel.
So ſaying, he aroſe; whom Adam thus
Follow'd with benediction. Since to part,
Go heav'nly Gueſt, ethereal Meſſenger,
Sent from whoſe ſovran goodneſs I adore.
Gentle to me and affable hath been
Thy condeſcenſion, and ſhall be' honor'd ever
With grateful memory: thou to mankind
Be good and friendly ſtill, and oft return.

So

644.—*whom Adam thus*] Adam's ſpeech at parting with the Angel has in it a deference and gratitude agreeable to an inferior nature, and at the ſame time a certain dignity and greatneſs ſuitable to the father of mankind in his ſtate of innocence. *Addiſon.*

645. *Follow'd with benediction. Since to part,*] What's here? ſays Dr. Bentley: Adam give benediction, his bleſſing to an Arch-Angel, when *the leſs is bleſſed of the better?* But *benediction* does not ſignify bleſſing here in the ſenſe which the Doctor gives to the word. *Benedicere Domino, to bleſs God* is a common phraſe in religious offices. And ſo in a lower ſenſe men may be ſaid to *bleſs* Angels; for *benediction* is (properly ſpeaking) only giving them good words, or wiſhing them well. See Pſal. CIX. 17. In this ſenſe therefore it is not improper to be uſed towards ſuperiors. But what ſtile is that (ſays the Doctor) *Since to part?* It means, Since we are to part. If the expreſſion is abbreviated, ſo was the time of Raphael's ſtay with Adam. He was juſt upon the point of going, and therefore Adam might chooſe brevity of ſpeech, that he might expreſs all he had to ſay before the Arch-Angel withdrew himſelf. No need then for Dr. Bentley's emendation of this ſort,

Follow'd with *valediction*, *loath* to part. *Pearce.*

Benediction here is not bleſſing, as 'tis uſually underſtood, but well ſpeaking, thanks. So Milton has explain'd the word Parad. Reg. III. 127.

Glory and benediction, that is thanks. *Richardſon.*

652. *So*

So parted they, the Angel up to Heaven
From the thick ſhade, and Adam to his bower.

652. *So parted they, the Angel up to Heaven*
From the thick ſhade, and Adam to his bower.] It is very true, as Dr. Bentley ſays, that this converſation between Adam and the Angel was held in *the bower*. For thither Adam had invited him. V. 367.

Vouchſafe with us—in yonder *bower*
To reſt.

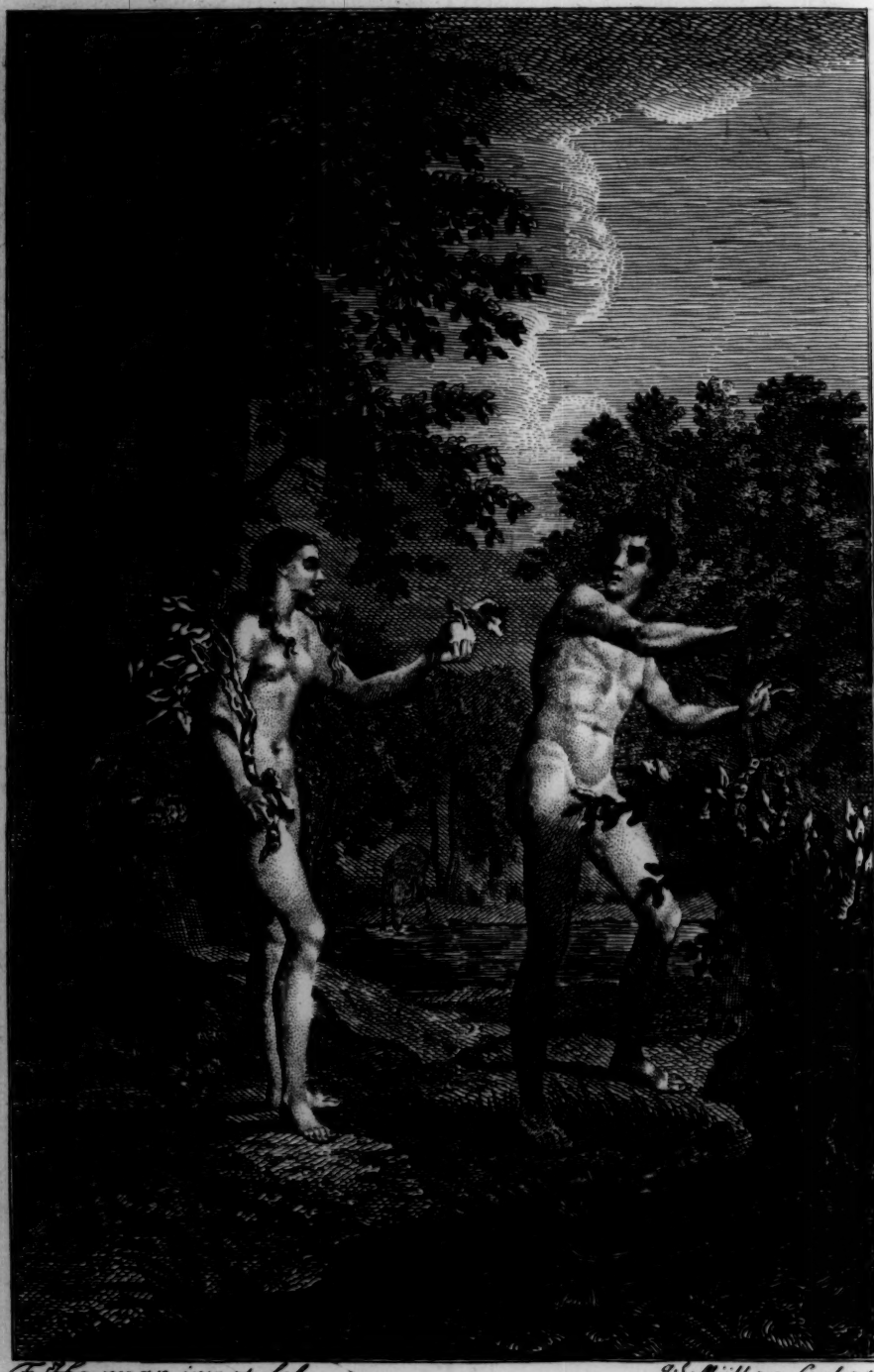
And the Angel had accepted the invitation, ver. 375.

—lead on then where *thy bower*
O'erſhades——
—So to the ſylvan lodge
They came.

But by *bower* in this place is meant his *inmoſt bower*, as it is called in IV. 738. his place of reſt. There was a ſhady walk that led to Adam's bower. When the Angel *aroſe* ver. 644. Adam *follow'd him* into this ſhady walk: and it was from this *thick ſhade* that they parted, and the Angel went up to Heaven, and Adam to his bower.

The End of the Eighth Book.

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Book 9.

THE

NINTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan having compaſs'd the Earth, with meditated guile returns as a miſt by night into Paradiſe, enters into the Serpent ſleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labors, which Eve propoſes to divide in ſeveral places, each laboring apart: Adam conſents not, alledging the danger, leſt that enemy, of whom they were forewarn'd, ſhould attempt her found alone: Eve loath to be thought not circumſpect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather deſirous to make trial of her ſtrength; Adam at laſt yields: The Serpent finds her alone; his ſubtle approach, firſt gazing, then ſpeaking, with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures. Eve wondering to hear the Serpent ſpeak, aſks how he attain'd to human ſpeech and ſuch underſtanding not till now; the Serpent anſwers, that by taſting of a certain tree in the garden he attain'd both to ſpeech and reaſon, till then void of both: Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the tree of knowledge forbidden: The Serpent now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her at length to eat; ſhe pleas'd with the taſte deliberates a while whether to impart thereof to Adam or not, at laſt brings him of the fruit, relates what perſuaded her to eat thereof: Adam at firſt amaz'd, but perceiving her loſt, reſolves through vehemence of love to periſh with her: and extenuating the treſpaſs eats alſo of the fruit: The effects thereof in them both; they ſeek to cover their nakedneſs; then fall to variance and accuſation of one another.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX.

NO more of talk where God or Angel gueſt
With Man, as with his friend, familiar us'd
To

1. *No more of talk* &c.] Theſe prologues or prefaces of Milton to ſome of his books, ſpeaking of his own perſon, lamenting his blindneſs, and preferring his ſubject to thoſe of Homer and Virgil and the greateſt poets before him, are condemn'd by ſome critics: and it muſt be allow'd that we find no ſuch digreſſion in the Iliad or Æneid; it is a liberty that can be taken only by ſuch a genius as Milton, and I queſtion whether it would have ſucceeded in any hands but his. As Monſieur Voltaire ſays upon the occaſion, I cannot but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable ſelf-love, when he lays aſide his ſubject to deſcant upon his own perſon: but that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay I am pleaſed with it. He gratifies the curioſity he has raiſed in me about his perſon; when I admire the author, I deſire to know ſomething of the man; and he, whom all readers would be glad to know, is allow'd to ſpeak of himſelf. But this however is a very dangerous example for a genius of an inferior order, and is only to be juſtified by ſucceſs. See Voltaire's Eſſay on epic poetry, pag. 111. But as Mr. Thyer adds, however ſome critics and Monſieur Voltaire may condemn a poet's ſometimes digreſſing from his ſubject to ſpeak of himſelf, it is very certain that Milton was of a very different opinion long before he thought of writing this poem. For in his diſcourſe of the Reaſon of Church-Government &c. apologizing for ſaying ſo much of himſelf as he there does, he adds, "*For although a poet, ſoaring in the* "*high region of his fancies, with* "*his garland and ſinging robes about* "*him, might, without apology, ſpeak* "*more of himſelf than I mean to do*; "yet for me ſitting here below in "the cool element of proſe, a mor-"tal thing among many readers of "no empyreal conceit, to venture "and divulge unuſual things of my-"ſelf, I ſhall petition to the gentler "ſort, it may not be envy to me." Vol. 1. p. 59. Edit. 1738.

1. ——*where God or Angel gueſt*] Dr. Bentley ſays that *God* did not *partake rural repaſt* with Adam, and therefore he thinks that the author gave it *where ſocial Angel gueſt* &c. But *ſocial* is uſeleſs here, becauſe *familiar* follows in the next verſe. The ſenſe ſeems to be this; Where God,

or

To ſit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repaſt, permitting him the while
Venial diſcourſe unblam'd I now muſt change
Thoſe notes to tragic; foul diſtruſt, and breach
Diſloyal on the part of Man, revolt,
And diſobedience: on the part of Heaven

Now

or rather the Angel ſent by him and acting as his proxy, us'd to ſit familiarly with Man as with his friend &c. Hence Raphael is called Adam's *Godlike gueſt*, V. 351. *Pearce.*

Milton, who knew and ſtudied the Scripture thoroughly, and continually profits himſelf of its vaſt ſublimity, as well as of the more noble treaſures it contains, and to which his poem owes its greateſt luſtre, has done it here very remarkably. The epiſode, which has employ'd almoſt a third part of the work, and is a diſcourſe betwixt the Angel Raphael and Adam, is plainly copied from the XVIIIth Chapter of Geneſis, which (by the way) has a ſublimity and air of antiquity to which Homer himſelf is flat and modern: Here *God or Angel gueſt* holds diſcourſe with Abraham *as friend with friend, ſits indulgent, partakes rural repaſt, permitting him the while diſcourſe* in his turn. No more muſt now be ſung of *ſuch* a heavenly converſation. God himſelf indeed is not properly a ſpeaker in it, though Adam in his part of it relates his having been honor'd with the divine preſence, and a *celeſtial colloquy* VIII. 455. as ſeveral others, XI. 318, &c. All hitherto is evident beyond contradiction. *But why God or Angel gueſt?* Read that chapter, and it will be ſeen that this remarkable expreſſion is taken from the ambiguity there. *The Lord and the Young Men* (always underſtood to be Angels) are uſed as words of the ſame ſignification, denoting that the divine preſence was ſo effectually with his meſſengers, that Himſelf was alſo there; *Such privilege hath omnipreſence*; *He went, yet ſtay'd*, as in VII. 589. The ſame Milton intimates in the paſſage before us; and 'tis a maſter ſtroke of ſublimity. *Richardſon.*

Mr. Richardſon, in ſaying *The Lord and the Young Men (always underſtood to be Angels) are uſed as words of the ſame ſignification*, does not ſeem to be appris'd, that it was an ancient opinion, and believed too by many of the more modern ſcholars, that the Lord in this paſſage was God the Son, and the two others only Angels. *Thyer.*

Beſides it may be queſtion'd, whether Milton refin'd in this manner; and it ſeems to me as if a difficulty was made where no difficulty is. The poet ſays, that he muſt now treat no more of familiar diſcourſe with either God or Angel. For Adam had held diſcourſe with God,

as

Now alienated, diſtance and diſtaſte,
Anger and juſt rebuke, and judgment given,
That brought into this world a world of woe,
Sin and her ſhadow Death, and Miſery
Death's harbinger: Sad taſk, yet argument
Not leſs but more heroic than the wrath

Of

as we read in the preceding book, and the whole foregoing epiſode is a converſation with the Angel, and as this takes up ſo large a part of the poem, this is particularly deſcrib'd and inſiſted upon here. The Lord God and the Angel Michael both indeed afterwards diſcourſe with Adam in the following books, but thoſe diſcourſes are not familiar converſation as with a friend, they are of a different ſtrain, the one coming to judge, and the other to expel him from Paradiſe.

5. ——*I now muſt change*
Thoſe notes to tragic;] As the author is now changing his ſubject, he profeſſes likewiſe to change his ſtile agreeably to it. The reader therefore muſt not expect ſuch lofty images and deſcriptions, as before. What follows is more of the *tragic* ſtrain than of the *epic*. Which may ſerve as an anſwer to thoſe critics, who cenſure the latter books of the Paradiſe Loſt as falling below the former.

11. *That brought into this world a world of woe,*] The pun or what ſhall I call it in this line may be avoided, as a great man obſerv'd to me, by diſtinguiſhing thus,

That brought into this world (a world of woe)
Sin and her ſhadow Death,

but I fancy the other will be found more agreeable to Milton's ſtile and manner. We have a ſimilar inſtance in XI. 627.

The world ere long a world of tears muſt weep.

But in theſe inſtances Milton was corrupted by the bad taſte of the times, and by reading the Italian poets, who abound with ſuch verbal quaintneſſes.

12. ——*and Miſery*
Death's harbinger:] Dr. Bentley reads *Malady*; becauſe, as there is *Miſery* after death, ſo there is *Miſery*, which does not uſher in death, but invoke it in vain. But by *Miſery* here, Milton means ſickneſs, diſeaſe, and all ſorts of mortal pains. So when in XI. Michael is going to name the ſeveral diſeaſes in the lazar-houſe repreſented to Adam in a viſion he ſays ver. 475.

——that thou may'ſt know
What *miſery* th' inabſtinence of Eve
Shall bring on men. *Pearce.*

13. ——*Sad taſk, yet argument*] The Paradiſe Loſt, even in this latter

part

Of ſtern Achilles on his foe purſu'd
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus for Lavinia diſeſpous'd,
Or Neptune's ire or Juno's, that ſo long
Perplex'd the Greek and Cytherea's ſon;
If anſwerable ſtile I can obtain
Of my celeſtial patroneſs, who deigns
Her nightly viſitation unimplor'd,

And

part of it, concerning God's anger and Adam's diſtreſs, is a more heroic ſubject than *the wrath of Achilles on his foe*, Hector whom he purſued three times round the walls of Troy according to Homer, or than the *rage of Turnus for Lavinia diſeſpous'd*, having been firſt betroth'd to him, and afterwards promiſed to Æneas according to Virgil, *or Neptune's ire that ſo long perplex'd the Greek*, Ulyſſes as we read in the Odyſſey, *or Juno's* ire that for ſo many years perplex'd *Cytherea's ſon*, Æneas as we read at large in the Æneid. The anger that he is about to ſing is an argument more heroic not only than the anger of men, of Achilles and Turnus, but than that even of the Gods, of Neptune and Juno. The anger of the true God is a more noble ſubject than of the falſe Gods. In this reſpect he has the advantage of Homer and Virgil, his argument is more heroic as he ſays, if he can but make his ſtile anſwerable.

21.—*my celeſtial patroneſs,*] His *heav'nly Muſe*, his *Urania*, whom he had invok'd I. 6. VII. 1, 31. And he boaſts of her *nightly viſitation*, as he was not unaccuſtom'd to ſtudy and compoſe his verſes by night; as he intimates himſelf at the beginning of book the third,

——but chief
Thee, Sion, and the flow'ry brooks beneath,
That waſh thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I viſit.

And it is probable that in both theſe paſſages he alludes to the beginning of Heſiod's Theogony, where he mentions likewiſe the Muſes *walking by night*, ver. 10.

Εννυχιαι στειχουσι, περικαλλεα οσσαν ιεισαι.

23. ——*or inſpires*
Eaſy my unpremeditated verſe:] Here is the ſame kind of beauty that we obſerved before in III. 37. The verſe flows ſo eaſy, that it ſeems to have been made without premeditation.

26.—*long chooſing, and beginning late;*] Our author intended pretty

And dictates to me ſlumb'ring, or inſpires
Eaſy my unpremeditated verſe:
Since firſt this ſubject for heroic ſong
Pleas'd me long chooſing, and beginning late;
Not ſedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deem'd, chief maſt'ry to diſſect
With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
In

pretty early to write an epic poem, and propoſed the ſtory of king Arthur for the ſubject of it: but that was laid aſide probably for the reaſons here intimated. The Paradiſe Loſt he deſigned at firſt as a tragedy: it was not till long after that he began to form it into an epic poem: and indeed for ſeveral years he was ſo hotly engaged in the controverſies of the times, that he was not at leiſure to think of a work of this nature, and did not begin to faſhion it in its preſent form till after the Salmaſian controverſy which ended in 1655, and probably did not ſet about the work in earneſt till after the Reſtoration, ſo that he was *long chooſing, and beginning late.*

28. —*hitherto the only argument Heroic deem'd,*] By the Moderns as well as by the Ancients; wars being the principal ſubject of all the heroic poems from Homer down to this time. But Milton's ſubject was different, and whatever others may call it, we ſee he reckons it himſelf *An heroic poem*, tho' he names it only *A poem* in his title page. It is indeed, as Mr. Warburton moſt excellently obſerves in his Divine Legation of Moſes, Book 2. Sect. 4. the *third* ſpecies of epic poetry. For juſt as Virgil rivaled Homer, ſo Milton emulated both. He found Homer poſſeſſed of the province of *morality*, Virgil of *politics*, and nothing left for him but that of *religion*. This he ſeiſed, as aſpiring to ſhare with them in the government of the poetic world; and by means of the ſuperior dignity of this ſubject, got to the head of that triumvirate which took ſo many ages in forming. Theſe are the three ſpecies of the epic poem; for its largeſt province is human action, which can be conſidered but in a moral, a political, or religious view; and theſe the three great creators of them; for each of theſe poems was ſtruck out at an heat, and came to perfection from its firſt eſſay. Here then the grand ſcene is cloſed, and all farther improvements of the epic at an end.

29. —*chief maſt'ry to diſſect* &c.] As the admir'd ſubjects for an heroic poem were miſtaken, ſo thoſe were

wrong

In battels feign'd; the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unſung; or to deſcribe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, imblazon'd ſhields,
Impreſſes quaint, capariſons and ſteeds,
Baſes and tinſel trappings, gorgeous knights
At jouſt and torneament; then marſhal'd feaſt
Serv'd up in hall with ſewers, and ſeneſhals;

The

wrong who thought the diſſecting of *knights* was a principal part of the ſkill of a poet, deſcribing wounds as a ſurgeon. He doubtleſs here glanc'd at Homer's perpetual affectation of this ſort of knowledge, which certainly debaſes his poetry. *Richardſon.*

33. ——*or to deſcribe races and games,*] As the ancient poets have done; Homer in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, Virgil and the fifth book of the Æneid, and Statius in the ſixth book of his Thebaid: Or *tilts* and *torneaments*, which are often the ſubject of the modern poets, as Arioſto, Spenſer, and the like.

34. ——*imblazon'd ſhields,*] The Italian poets in general are much too circumſtantial about theſe trifling particulars. But I can't help thinking that our author had principally in view Boiardo, who in his catalogue of Agramante's troops gives us a moſt faſtidious detail of imblazonry, having for above a hundred verſes together nothing elſe ſcarcely but names of warriors, and deſcriptions of the devices and impreſſes with they bore in their arms, See Boiardo's Orland. Inam. B. 2. C. 29. *Thyer.*

35. *Impreſſes quaint*, &c.] Uncommon witty devices or emblems, painted on their ſhields uſually with a motto. We remember one which was not painted; 'twas a blank ſhield, the motto imported that the wearer would win by his valor wherewith to adorn it. *Baſes* from *Bas* (French) they fall low to the ground; they are alſo call'd the *houſing* from *houſſé*, bedaggled. *Sewers* from *aſſeoir* (French) to ſet down; for thoſe officers ſet the diſhes on the table; in old French *aſſeours*. *Seneſhals* from two German words ſignifying a ſervant of a family; and was apply'd by way of eminence to the principal ſervant, the ſteward. *Richardſon.*

We may obſerve that Milton ſpells the word *impreſes* after the Italian *impreſa*, and not as we commonly do *impreſſes*, as if it was of Latin ex-

The ſkill of artifice or office mean,
Not that which juſtly gives heroic name
To perſon or to poem. Me of theſe
Nor ſkill'd nor ſtudious, higher argument
Remains, ſufficient of itſelf to raiſe
That name, unleſs an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years damp my intended wing
Depreſs'd, and much they may, if all be mine,
Not

extraction: but as he has uſed the words *impreſs'd* III. 388. and in other places, and *impreſs* IV. 558. we have cauſed it to be printed *impreſſes* out of regard to the uniformity of ſpelling. *And ſo torneament* he ſpells here after the Italian *torneamento*, though in XI. 652. he writes it *tournament*, which ſeems to be after the French *tournoy*: but the ſame regard to the uniformity of ſpelling obliges us to print it in both places alike; and we prefer *torneament*, becauſe we ſuppoſe the Italian to have been the original word; as we write *impreſſes* according to the Latin, becauſe that word is originally derived from the Latin. Shakeſpear too uſes the word *impreſs* as a ſubſtantive in the ſame ſenſe, Richard II. Act III.

From mine own windows torn my houſhold coat,
Ras'd out my *impreſs*.

And Fairfax in Taſſo, Cant. 20. St. 28.

Their arms, *impreſſes*, colors, gold and ſtone.

44. ——*unleſs an age too late, or cold Climate,*] He has a thought of the ſame kind in his proſe works. *The Reaſon of Church Government*, Book the ſecond, p. 60. Edit. 1738. "As Taſſo gave to a prince of "Italy his choice, whether he "would command him to write of "Godfrey's expedition againſt the "infidels, or Belliſarius againſt the "Goths, or Charlemain againſt "the Lombards; if to the in-"ſtinct of nature and the imbold-"ning of art ought may be truſted, "and that there *be nothing adverſe* "*in our climate, or the fate of this* "*age*, it haply would be no raſh-"neſs from an equal diligence "and inclination to preſent the "like offer in our own ancient "ſtories." *Or years damp* &c. for he was near ſixty when this poem was publiſh'd. And it is ſurpriſing that at that time of life, and after ſuch troubleſome days as he had paſſed through, he ſhould have ſo much poetical fire remaining.

Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear.
The ſun was ſunk, and after him the ſtar
Of Heſperus, whoſe office is to bring
Twilight upon the earth, ſhort arbiter
'Twixt

50. ——*ſhort arbiter*
'Twixt day and night,] This expreſſion was probably borrow'd from the beginning of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, where ſpeaking of the ſun about the time of the equinox, he *calls him an indifferent arbiter between the night and the day.*

53. *When Satan who late fled* &c.] If we look into the three great heroic poems which have appear'd in the world, we may obſerve that they are built upon very ſlight foundations. Homer lived near 300 years after the Trojan war; and, as the writing of hiſtory was not then in uſe among the Greeks, we may very well ſuppoſe that the tradition of Achilles and Ulyſſes had brought down but very few particulars to his knowledge; tho' there is no queſtion but he has wrought into his two poems ſuch of their remarkable adventures, as were ſtill talked of among his contemporaries. The ſtory of Æneas, on which Virgil founded his poem, was likewiſe very bare of circumſtances, and by that means afforded him an opportunity of embelliſhing it with fiction, and giving a full range to his own invention. We find however that he has interwoven in the courſe of his fable the principal particulars which were generally believed among the Romans of Æneas's voyage and ſettlement in Italy. The reader may find an abridgment of the whole ſtory as collected out of the ancient hiſtorians, and as it was received among the Romans, in Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. Since none of the critics have conſider'd Virgil's fable, with relation to this hiſtory of Æneas; it may not perhaps be amiſs to examin it in this light, ſo far as regards my preſent purpoſe. Whoever looks into the abridgement above mention'd, will find that the character of Æneas is fill'd with piety to the Gods, and a ſuperſtitious obſervation of prodigies, oracles and predictions. Virgil has not only preſerved this character in the perſon of Æneas, but has given a place in his poem to thoſe particular prophecies, which he found recorded of him in hiſtory and tradition. The poet took the matters of fact as they came down to him, and circumſtanced them after his own manner, to make them appear the more natural, agreeable or ſurpriſing. I believe very many readers have been ſhocked at that ludicrous prophecy which one of the Harpies pronounces to the Trojans in the third book, namely, that before they had built their intended city, they ſhould be reduced by hunger to eat their very tables. But when they hear that this was one of the circumſtances that had been tranſmitted to the Romans in the hiſtory of Æneas, they will think the

'Twixt day and night, and now from end to end
Night's hemiſphere had veil'd th' horizon round:
When Satan who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd

In

the poet did very well in taking notice of it. The hiſtorian above mention'd acquaints us, a propheteſs had foretold Æneas, that he ſhould take his voyage weſtward, till his companions ſhould eat their tables; and that accordingly upon his landing in Italy, as they were eating their fleſh upon cakes of bread, for want of other conveniencies, they afterwards fed on the cakes themſelves; upon which one of the company ſaid merrily, *We are eating our tables.* They immediately took the hint, ſays the hiſtorian, and concluded the prophecy to be fulfilled. As Virgil did not think it proper to omit ſo material a particular in the hiſtory of Æneas, it may be worth while to conſider with how much judgment he has qualified it, and takes off every thing that might have appear'd improper for a paſſage in an heroic poem. The propheteſs who foretels it is an hungry Harpy, as the perſon who diſcovers it is young Aſcanius.

Heus etiam menſas conſumimus, inquit Iülus.

Such an obſervation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the company. I am apt to think that the changing of the Trojan fleet into water-nymphs, which is the moſt violent machine in the whole Æneid, and has given offenſe to ſeveral critics, may be accounted for the ſame way. Virgil himſelf, before he begins that relation, premiſes, that what he was going to tell appeared incredible, but that it was juſtified by tradition. What farther confirms me that this change of the fleet was a celebrated circumſtance in the hiſtory of Æneas is, that Ovid has given a place to the ſame metamorphoſis in his account of the Heathen mythology. None of the critics I have met with having conſidered the fable of the Æneid in this light, and taken notice how the tradition, on which it was founded, authorizes thoſe parts in it which appear moſt exceptionable; I hope the length of this reflection will not make it unacceptable to the curious part of my readers. The hiſtory, which was the baſis of Milton's poem, is ſtill ſhorter than either that of the Iliad or Æneid. The poet has likewiſe taken care to inſert every circumſtance of it in the body of his fable. The ninth book, which we are here to conſider, is raiſed upon that brief account in Scripture, wherein we are told that the Serpent was more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field, that he tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden fruit, that ſhe was overcome by this temptation, and that Adam follow'd her example. From theſe few par-

In meditated fraud and malice, bent
On Man's deſtruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himſelf, fearleſs return'd.
By night he fled, and at midnight return'd
From compaſſing the earth, cautious of day,
Since Uriel regent of the ſun deſcry'd
His entrance, and forewarn'd the Cherubim
That kept their watch; thence full of anguiſh driven,
The ſpace of ſev'n continued nights he rode
With darkneſs, thrice the equinoctial line

He

ticulars, Milton has formed one of the moſt entertaining fables that invention ever produced. He has diſpoſed of theſe ſeveral circumſtances among ſo many beautiful and natural fictions of his own, that his whole ſtory looks only like a comment upon ſacred Writ, or rather ſeems to be a full and complete relation of what the other is only an epitome. I have inſiſted the longer on this conſideration, as I look upon the diſpoſition and contrivance of the fable to be the principal beauty of the ninth book, which has more *ſtory* in it, and is fuller of incidents, than any other in the whole poem. Satan's traverſing the globe, and ſtill keeping within the ſhadow of the night, as fearing to be diſcovered by the Angel of the ſun, who had before detected him, is one of thoſe beautiful imaginations, with which he introduces this his ſecond ſeries of adventures. Having examin'd the nature of every creature, and found out one which was the moſt proper for his purpoſe, he again returns to Paradiſe; and to avoid diſcovery, ſinks by night with a river that ran under the garden, and riſes up again through a fountain that iſſued from it by the tree of life. The poet, who, as we have before taken notice, ſpeaks as little as poſſible in his own perſon, and after the example of Homer fills every part of his work with manners and characters, introduces a ſoliloquy of this infernal agent, who was thus reſtleſs in the deſtruction of Man. He is then deſcribed as gliding through the garden, under the reſemblance of a miſt, in order to find out that creature in which he deſign'd to tempt our firſt parents. This deſcription has ſomething in it very poetical and ſurpriſing. *Addiſon.*

63. *The ſpace of ſev'n continued nights he rode*

With

He circled, four times croſs'd the car of night
From pole to pole, travérſing each colúre;
On th' eighth return'd, and on the coaſt averſe
From entrance or Cherubic watch, by ſtealth
Found unſuſpected way. There was a place,
Now not, though ſin, not time, firſt wrought the change,
Where Tigris at the foot of Paradiſe
Into a gulf ſhot under ground, till part
Roſe up a fountain by the tree of life;

In

With darkneſs, &c.] It was about noon that Satan came to the earth, and having been diſcover'd by Uriel, he was driven out of Paradiſe the ſame night, as we read in book the fourth. From that time he was a whole week in continual darkneſs for fear of another diſcovery. *Thrice the equinoctial line he circled*; he travel'd on with the night three times round the equator; he was three days moving round from eaſt to weſt as the ſun does, but always on the oppoſit ſide of the globe in darkneſs. *Four times croſs'd the car of night from pole to pole*; did not move directly on with the night as before, but croſſed over from the northern to the ſouthern, and from the ſouthern to the northern pole. *Traverſing each colure.* As the equinoctial line or equator is a great circle encompaſſing the earth from eaſt to weſt and from weſt to eaſt again: ſo the colures are two great circles, interſecting each other at right angles in the poles of the world, and encompaſſing the earth from north to ſouth, and from ſouth to north again: and therefore as Satan was moving from pole to pole, at the ſame time the car of night was moving from eaſt to weſt, if he would keep ſtill in the ſhade of night as he deſir'd, he could not move in a ſtrait line, but muſt move obliquely, and thereby croſs the two colures. We have expreſs'd ourſelves as plainly as we can for the ſake of thoſe readers, who are not acquainted with theſe aſtronomical terms; and the fact in ſhort is that Satan was three days compaſſing the earth from eaſt to weſt, and four days from north to ſouth, but ſtill kept always in the ſhade of night; and after a whole week's peregrination in this manner, 'on the eighth night return'd by ſtealth into Paradiſe.

In with the river ſunk, and with it roſe
Satan involv'd in riſing miſt, then ſought
Where to lie hid; ſea he had ſearch'd and land
From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob;
Downward as far antarctic; and in length
Weſt from Orontes to the ocean barr'd
At Darien, thence to the land where flows
Ganges and Indus: thus the orb he roam'd
With narrow ſearch, and with inſpection deep
Conſider'd every creature, which of all
Moſt opportune might ſerve his wiles, and found
The Serpent ſubtleſt beaſt of all the field.

Him

75.——*involv'd in riſing miſt,*] Homer, Iliad. I. 359.

—αιπὺ πολιης ἁλος ηὖτ' ομιχλη.

77. *From Eden over Pontus,* &c.] As we had before an aſtronomical, ſo here we have a geographical, account of Satan's peregrinations. *He ſearch'd* both *ſea and land,* northward *from Eden over Pontus,* Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine Sea, now the Black Sea, above Conſtantinople, *and the pool Mæotis,* Palus Mæotis above the Black Sea, *up beyond the river Ob,* Ob or Oby, a great river of Muſcovy near the northern pole. *Downward as far antarctic,* as far ſouthward; the northern hemiſphere being elevated on our globes, the north is called *up* and the ſouth *downwards*; *antarctic* ſouth the contrary to *arctic* north from αρκτος the bear, the moſt conſpicuous conſtellation near the north pole; but no particular place is mention'd near the ſouth pole, there being all ſea or land unknown. *And in length,* as north is up and ſouth is down, ſo in length is eaſt or weſt; *weſt from Orontes,* a river of Syria, weſtward of Eden, running into the Mediterranean, *to the ocean barr'd at Darien,* the iſthmus of Darien in the Weſt-Indies, a neck of land that joins North and South America together, and hinders the ocean as it were with a bar from flowing between them; and the metaphor of *the*

Him after long debate, irreſolute
Of thoughts revolv'd, his final ſentence choſe
Fit veſſel, fitteſt imp of fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark ſuggeſtions hide
From ſharpeſt ſight: for in the wily ſnake,
Whatever ſleights none would ſuſpicious mark,
As from his wit and native ſubtlety
Proceeding, which in other beaſts obſerv'd
Doubt might beget of diabolic power
Active within beyond the ſenſe of brute.
Thus he reſolv'd, but firſt from inward grief
His burſting paſſion into plaints thus pour'd.
O Earth, how like to Heav'n, if not preferr'd
More

the ocean barr'd is an alluſion to Job XXXVIII. 10. *and ſet bars* to the ſea. *Thence to the land where flows Ganges and Indus*, thence to the Eaſt-Indies: *thus the orb he roam'd.*

86. *The ſerpent ſubtleſt beaſt of all the field.*] So Moſes Gen. III. 1. *Now the ſerpent was more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field*: The ſubtlety of the ſerpent is commended likewiſe by Ariſtotle and other Naturaliſts: And therefore he was the fitter inſtrument for Satan, becauſe (as Milton ſays agreeably with the doctrin of the beſt Divines) any ſleights in him might be thought to proceed from his native wit and ſubtlety, but obſerv'd in other creatures might the eaſier beget a ſuſpicion of a diabolical power acting within them beyond their natural ſenſe.

89.—*fitteſt imp of fraud,*] Fitteſt ſtock to graft his deviliſh fraud upon. *Imp* of the Saxon *impan*, to put into, to graft upon. Thus children are called *little imps*, from their imitating all they ſee and hear. *Hume.*

99. —*If not preferr'd*
More juſtly, &c.] I reckon this panegyric upon the Earth among the leſs perfect parts of the poem. The beginning is extravagant, and what follows is not conſiſtent with what the author had ſaid before in his deſcription of Satan's paſſage among the ſtars and planets, which are ſaid then to appear to him as

More juſtly, ſeat worthier of Gods, as built
With ſecond thoughts, reforming what was old!
For what God after better worſe would build?
Terreſtrial Heav'n, danc'd round by other Heavens
That ſhine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
Light above light, for thee alone, as ſeems,
In thee concentring all their precious beams
Of ſacred influence! As God in Heaven
Is center, yet extends to all, ſo thou
Centring receiv'ſt from all thoſe orbs; in thee,
Not in themſelves, all their known virtue' appears
Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
Of

other worlds inhabited. See III. 566. The imagination that all the heavenly bodies were created for the ſake of the Earth was natural to human ignorance, and human vanity might find its account in it: but neither of theſe could influence Satan. *Heylin.*

As it is common with people to undervalue what they have forfeited and loſt by their folly and wickedneſs, and to overvalue any good that they hope to attain; ſo Satan is here made to queſtion whether Earth be not preferable to Heaven: but this is ſpoken of Earth in its primitive and original beauty before the fall. As Mr. Thyer obſerves, Spenſer has the very ſame thought upon a like occaſion, for deſcribing the gardens ſurrounding the temple of Venus he ſays,

That if the happy ſouls which do poſſeſs
Th' Elyſian fields, and live in laſting bliſs,
Should happen this with living eye to ſee,
They ſoon would loath their leſſer happineſs.

Faery Queen, B. 5. C. 10. St. 23.

But Satan concludes that Earth muſt be beſt, becauſe it was created laſt;

For what God after better worſe would build?

A ſophiſtical argument worthy of Satan, and for the ſame reaſon Man would be better than Angels. But Satan was willing to inſinuate imperfection

Of creatures animate with gradual life
Of growth, ſenſe, reaſon, all ſumm'd up in Man,
With what delight could I have walk'd thee round,
If I could joy in ought, ſweet interchange
Of hill, and valley, rivers, woods and plains,
Now land, now ſea, and ſhores with foreſt crown'd,
Rocks, dens, and caves! but I in none of theſe
Find place or refuge; and the more I ſee
Pleaſures about me, ſo much more I feel
Torment within me', as from the hateful ſiege
Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in Heav'n much worſe would be my ſtate.
But

perfection in God, as if he had mended his hand by creation, and as if all the works of God were not perfect in their kinds, and in their degrees, and for the ends for which they were intended.

113. *Of growth, ſenſe, reaſon, all ſumm'd up in Man.*] The three kinds of life riſing as it were by ſteps, the vegetable, animal, and rational; of all which Man partakes, and he only; he grows as plants, minerals, and all things inanimate; he lives as all other animated creatures, but is over and above indued with reaſon. *Richardſon.*

119. *Find place or refuge*;] Dr. Bentley believes that the author gave it *Find place* of *refuge:* Another learned gentleman propoſes to read *Find* peace *or refuge:* but it may be underſtood thus, *but I in none of theſe find place* to dwell in *or refuge* from divine vengeance. And this ſenſe ſeems to be confirm'd by what follows,

But neither here ſeek I, no nor in Heaven
To dwell,—
Nor hope to be myſelf leſs miſerable,

that is (as Dr. Greenwood adds) I find no place *to dwell here*, for I do not *ſeek* or deſire it; and I expect no *refuge*, becauſe I cannot *hope to be leſs miſerable.*

122. —*all good to me becomes Bane,*—] When the pauſe is made upon the firſt ſyllable of the verſe, it is commonly upon a verb to mark the action more ſtrongly. I think it is always ſo in Homer. But Milton makes

But neither here ſeek I, no nor in Heaven
To dwell, unleſs by maſt'ring Heav'n's Supreme;
Nor hope to be myſelf leſs miſerable
By what I ſeek, but others to make ſuch
As I, though thereby worſe to me redound:
For only in deſtroying I find eaſe
To my relentleſs thoughts; and him deſtroyed,
Or won to what may work his utter loſs,
For whom all this was made, all this will ſoon
Follow, as to him link'd in weal or woe,
In woe then; that deſtruction wide may range:
To me ſhall be the glory ſole among
Th' infernal Pow'rs, in one day to have marr'd
What he Almighty ſtil'd, ſix nights and days
Continued making, and who knows how long
Before had been contriving, though perhaps
Not longer than ſince I in one night freed
From ſervitude inglorious well nigh half
Th' angelic name, and thinner left the throng

Of

makes the pauſes as well upon a ſubſtantive, as here, and in VI. 837,

—ſuch as in their ſouls infix'd
Plagues;

and in the preceding book we have it upon an adjective, VIII. 472.

That what ſeem'd fair in all the world, ſeem'd now
Mean.

127. —*but others to make ſuch As I,*] It is true (as Dr. Bentley remarks) that the ſyntax requires *to make ſuch as me:* But may not the verb ſubſtantive *am* be underſtood, *to make others ſuch as I* am? and is ſuch an abbreviation uncommon?

146. ——*if they at leaſt Are his created,*] He queſtions whe-

Of his adorers: he to be aveng'd,
And to repair his numbers thus impair'd,
Whether ſuch virtue ſpent of old now fail'd
More Angels to create, if they at leaſt
Are his created, or to ſpite us more,
Determin'd to advance into our room
A creature form'd of earth, and him endow,
Exalted from ſo baſe original,
With heav'nly ſpoils, our ſpoils: What he decreed
He' effected; Man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this world, and earth his ſeat,
Him lord pronounc'd, and, O indignity!
Subjected to his ſervice Angel wings,
And flaming miniſters to watch and tend
Their earthly charge: Of theſe the vigilance
I dread, and to elude, thus wrapt in miſt
Of midnight vapor glide obſcure, and pry
In every buſh and brake, where hap may find
The ſerpent ſleeping, in whoſe mazy folds

To

whether the Angels were created by God; he had before aſſerted that they were not, to the Angels themſelves, V. 859.

We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd
By our own quick'ning pow'r.

156. *And flaming miniſters*] For *He maketh his Angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire.* Pſal. CIV. 4.

161. —— *in whoſe mazy folds*] Dr. Bentley reads, *in his mazy folds.*

164.—*am*

To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
O foul deſcent! that I who erſt contended
With Gods to ſit the high'eſt, am now conſtrain'd
Into a beaſt, and mix'd with beſtial ſlime,
This eſſence to incarnate and imbrute,
That to the highth of deity aſpir'd;
But what will not ambition and revenge
Deſcend to? who aſpires muſt down as low
As high he ſoar'd, obnoxious firſt or laſt
To baſeſt things. Revenge, at firſt though ſweet,
Bitter ere long back on itſelf recoils;
Let it; I reck not, ſo it light well aim'd,

Since

164.—*am now conſtrain'd* &c.] The conſtruction is, am now forc'd into a beaſt, and to incarnate, *&c.* The verb *conſtrain'd* governs both the members; and there are innumerable inſtances (as Mr. Richardſon obſerves) in Milton, Horace, and the beſt Latin and Greek poets, of the ſame verb governing in one member of the period a noun *&c.* and in the other a verb *&c.*

166. *This eſſence to incarnate and imbrute,*] So alſo in his maſk,

The ſoul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies and imbrutes. Thyer.

169. —— *who aſpires muſt down as low*
As high he ſoar'd,] Rather *muſt ſink as low* (ſays Dr. Bentley) becauſe it is better to have ſome verb in the oppoſition than the adverb *down.* But yet this way of ſpeaking is agreeable to what Milton ſays in X. 503.

But *up*, and enter now into full bliſs.

In both places the adverbs are uſed as verbs, or ſome verb of motion is to be ſupplied in the ſenſe. *Pearce.*

There is a moſt beautiful inſtance of the uſe of ſuch adverbs for verbs in Shakeſpear, 2 Henry IV. Act IV.

For now a time is come to mock at form;
Henry the fifth is crown'd: *up*, Vanity!
Down, royal State!

173. *Let it*;] Let revenge recoil on itſelf, *I reck not*, I value not, *ſo it light well aim'd, ſince higher I fall ſhort, on him who next provokes*

my

Since higher I fall ſhort, on him who next,
Provokes my envy, this new favorite
Of Heav'n, this man of clay, ſon of deſpite,
Whom us the more to ſpite his Maker rais'd
From duſt: ſpite then with ſpite is beſt repaid.
So ſaying, through each thicket dank or dry,
Like a black miſt low creeping, he held on
His midnight ſearch, where ſooneſt he might find
The ſerpent: him faſt ſleeping ſoon he found
In labyrinth of many a round ſelf-roll'd,
His head the midſt, well ſtor'd with ſubtle wiles:
Not yet in horrid ſhade or diſmal den,
Nor

my envy, ſo it light on Man, ſince I cannot accompliſh my revenge on God. A truly diabolical ſentiment this. So he can but be any ways reveng'd, he does not value tho' his revenge recoil on himſelf.

176.——*ſon of deſpite,*] 'Tis a Hebraiſm by which wicked men are termed *ſons of Belial* Deut. XIII. 13. valiant men, *ſons of courage* 2 Sam. II. 7. untameable beaſts, *ſons of pride* Job XLI. 24. the diſciples, *ſons of light* Luke XVI. 8. So Satan calls man the *ſon of deſpite*, the offspring of hatred and envy, created to increaſe his puniſhment, by ſeeing *this man of clay* ſubſtituted into that glorious ſtation of him *forlorn, outcaſt of Heaven*. Hume.

I have often wonder'd that this ſpeech of Satan's eſcaped the particular obſervation of the ingenious Mr. Addiſon. There is not in my opinion any one in the whole book that is worked up with greater judgment, or better ſuited to the character of the ſpeaker. There is all the horror and malignity of a fiend-like Spirit expreſs'd, and yet this is ſo artfully temper'd with Satan's ſudden ſtarts of recollection upon the meanneſs and folly of what he was going to undertake, as plainly ſhow the remains of the Arch-Angel, and the ruins of a ſuperior nature. *Thyer.*

178.——*ſpite then with ſpite is beſt repaid.*] Æſchylus Prometh. 944.

Οὐλως ὑοριζειν τους ὑοριζοντας χρεων.
Richardſon.

186. *Nor*

Nor nocent yet, but on the graſſy herb
Fearleſs unfear'd he ſlept: in at his mouth
The Devil enter'd, and his brutal ſenſe,
In heart or head, poſſeſſing ſoon inſpir'd
With act intelligential; but his ſleep
Diſturb'd not, waiting cloſe th' approach of morn.
Now when as ſacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flow'rs, that breath'd
Their morning incenſe, when all things that breathe,
From th' earth's great altar ſend up ſilent praiſe
To

186. *Nor nocent yet,*] Thus it is in the ſecond and in the ſubſequent editions; in the firſt edition it is *Not nocent yet.*

186.——*the graſſy herb*] So we have in Virgil, Ecl. V. 26. *gramini herbam.*

192. *Now when as ſacred light* &c.] The author gives us a deſcription of the morning, which is wonderfully ſuitable to a divine poem, and peculiar to that firſt ſeaſon of nature: He repreſents the earth, before it was curſt, as a great altar, breathing out its incenſe from all parts, and ſending up a pleaſant ſavor to the noſtrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble idea of Adam and Eve, as offering their morning worſhip, and filling up the univerſal conſort of praiſe and adoration. *Addiſon.* This is the morning of the ninth day, as far as we can reckon the time in this poem, a great part of the action lying out of the ſphere of day. The firſt day we reckon that wherein Satan came to the earth; the ſpace of ſeven days after that he was coaſting round the earth; he comes into Paradiſe again by night, and this is the beginning of the ninth day, and the laſt of Man's innocence and happineſs. And the morning is often called *ſacred* by the poets, becauſe that time is uſually allotted to ſacrifice and devotion, as Euſtathius ſays in his remarks upon Homer.

193. *In Eden on the humid flow'rs, that breath'd*
Their morning incenſe, when all things that breathe,] Here Milton gives to the Engliſh word *breathe*, which is generally uſed in a more confin'd ſenſe, the extenſive ſignification of the Latin *ſpirare*, imitating perhaps Spenſer, Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 4. St. 38.

With pleaſance of the *breathing fields* yfed. *Thyer.*

197. *With*

To the Creator, and his noſtrils fill
With grateful ſmell, forth came the human pair,
And join'd their vocal worſhip to the quire
Of creatures wanting voice; that done, partake
The ſeaſon, prime for ſweeteſt ſents and airs:
Then commune how that day they beſt may ply
Their growing work: for much their work outgrew
The hands diſpatch of two gard'ning ſo wide,
And Eve firſt to her huſband thus began.
Adam, well may we labor ſtill to dreſs
This

197. *With grateful ſmell,*] This is in the ſtile of the eaſtern poetry. So it is ſaid Gen. VIII. 21. *The Lord ſmell'd a ſweet ſavor.*

199.——*that done,*] Our author always ſuppoſes Adam and Eve to employ their firſt and their laſt hours in devotion. And they are only would-be-wits, who do not believe and worſhip a God. The greateſt geniuſes in all ages from Homer to Milton appear plainly by their writings to have been men of piety and religion.

200. *The ſeaſon, prime for ſweeteſt ſents and airs:*] *Sents*, ſo Milton ſpells it, doubtleſs from the Latin *ſentiendo*. And ſo Skinner ſpells it, and this is the true way of ſpelling it. I preſume, it was firſt ſpelt with a *c ſcent*, to diſtinguiſh it from the participle *ſent* miſſus; but the ſenſe will ſufficiently diſtinguiſh the one from the other. And in like manner *ſituation* was formerly very abſurdly ſpelt with a *c ſcituation*: but in this and all other inſtances the etymology beſt regulates the ſpelling. And as Milton thus commends the morning,

The ſeaſon, prime for ſweeteſt
ſents and airs;

ſo he was himſelf an early riſer. See what he ſays of himſelf in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, p. 109. Vol. I. Edit. 1738. "My morning "haunts are where they ſhould be, "at home, not ſleeping, or con- "cocting the ſurfeits of an irregu- "lar feaſt, but up and ſtirring, in "winter often ere the ſound of any "bell awake men to labor, or to "devotion; in ſummer as oft with "the bird that firſt rouſes, or not "much tardier, to read good au- "thors, or cauſe them to be read, "till the attention be weary, or "memory have its full fraught."

213. *Or*

This garden, ſtill to tend plant, herb and flower,
Our pleaſant taſk injoin'd, but ſtill more hands
Aid us, the work under our labor grows,
Luxurious by reſtraint; what we by day
Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides
Tending to wild. Thou therefore now adviſe,
Or bear what to my mind firſt thoughts preſent;
Let us divide our labors, thou where choice
Leads thee, or where moſt needs, whether to wind
The woodbine round this arbor, or direct
The claſping ivy where to climb, while I

In

213. *Or bear what to my mind*] So the ſecond edition has it; in the firſt it is *Or hear*. Either will do, and we find ſometimes the one and ſometimes the other in the following editions.

226. *To whom mild anſwer Adam thus return'd.*] The diſpute which follows between our two firſt parents is repreſented with great art: It proceeds from a difference of judgment, not of paſſion, and is manag'd with reaſon, not with heat: It is ſuch a diſpute as we may ſuppoſe might have happen'd in Paradiſe, had Man continued happy and innocent. There is a great delicacy in the moralities which are interſperſed in Adam's diſcourſe, and which the moſt ordinary reader cannot but take notice of. That force of love, which the father of mankind ſo finely deſcribes in the eighth book, ſhows itſelf here in many fine inſtances: as in thoſe fond regards he caſt towards Eve at her parting from him, ver. 397.

Her long with ardent look his eye purſued
Delighted, *&c.*

in his impatience and amuſement during her abſence, ver. 838.

—Adam the while,
Waiting deſirous her return, had wove
Of choiceſt flow'rs a garland *&c.*

but particularly in that paſſionate ſpeech, where ſeeing her irrecoverably loſt, he reſolves to periſh with her rather than to live without her, ver. 904.

—ſome

In yonder ſpring of roſes intermix'd
With myrtle, find what to redreſs till noon:
For while ſo near each other thus all day
Our taſk we chooſe, what wonder if ſo near
Looks intervene and ſmiles, or object new
Caſual diſcourſe draw on, which intermits
Our day's work brought to little, though begun
Early, and th' hour of ſupper comes unearn'd.

To whom mild anſwer Adam thus return'd.
Sole Eve, aſſociate ſole, to me beyond
Compare above all living creatures dear,
Well haſt thou motion'd, well thy thoughts employ'd
How

——ſome curſed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil'd thee &c.

The beginning of this ſpeech, and the preparation to it, are animated with the ſame ſpirit as the concluſion which I have here quoted. *Addiſon.*

227. *Sole Eve, aſſociate ſole,*] *Sole aſſociate* (ſays Dr. Bentley) is very well, but *Sole Eve* would deſerve in reply *Sole Adam:* He therefore pronounces that Milton gave it *O Eve*, and quotes two paſſages for the legality of this interjection O, join'd to Eve. But as ſhe had her name *Eve* upon account of her being the *mother of all living* Gen. III. 20. the epithet *ſole* is as properly applied to *Eve* as to *aſſociate*. Pearce.

227.———*beyond—Compare*] I think we took notice before, that Milton ſometimes uſes the ſubſtantive for an adjective, and an adjective for a ſubſtantive. And here we may obſerve, that ſometimes he makes a verb of a noun, and again a noun of a verb. A noun of a verb as here, *beyond compare*, and VI. 549.

Inſtant without *diſturb* they took alarm.

And a verb of a noun, as in VII. 412.

Tempeſt the ocean

And in like manner he makes the adjective a verb, as in VI. 440.

—to *better* us, and *worſe* our foes;

and again the verb an adjective, as in VIII. 576.

Made ſo *adorn*.

Several other inſtances in each kind might be cited.

How we might beſt fulfil the work which here
God hath aſſign'd us, nor of me ſhall paſs
Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to ſtudy houſhold good,
And good works in her huſband to promote.
Yet not ſo ſtrictly hath our Lord impos'd
Labor, as to debar us when we need
Refreſhment, whether food, or talk between,
Food of the mind, or this ſweet intercourſe
Of looks and ſmiles, for ſmiles from reaſon flow,
To brute deny'd, and are of love the food,
Love not the loweſt end of human life.
For not to irkſome toil, but to delight
He made us, and delight to reaſon join'd.
Theſe paths and bow'rs doubt not but our joint hands
Will keep from wilderneſs with eaſe, as wide
As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
Aſſiſt us: but if much converſe perhaps
The ſatiate, to ſhort abſence I could yield:

For

239.—*ſmiles from reaſon flow,*] Smiling is ſo great an indication of reaſon, that ſome philoſophers have alter'd the definition of man from *animal rationale* to *riſibile*, affirming man to be the only creature endowed with the power of laughter. *Hume.*

244. *Theſe paths and bow'rs*] So it is in the firſt and beſt editions, and not *The paths and bow'rs*, as both Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton have by miſtake printed it.

249.—*is beſt ſociety,*] As Scipio ſaid,

For ſolitude ſometimes is beſt ſociety,
And ſhort retirement urges ſweet return.
But other doubt poſſeſſes me, leſt harm
Befall thee ſever'd from me; for thou know'ſt
What hath been warn'd us, what malicious foe
Envying our happineſs, and of his own
Deſpairing, ſeeks to work us woe and ſhame
By ſly aſſault; and ſomewhere nigh at hand
Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
His wiſh and beſt advantage, us aſunder,
Hopeleſs to circumvent us join'd, where each
To other ſpeedy aid might lend at need;
Whether his firſt deſign be to withdraw
Our feälty from God, or to diſturb
Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliſs
Enjoy'd by us excites his envy more;
Or this, or worſe, leave not the faithful ſide
That gave thee be'ing, ſtill ſhades thee and protects.
The wife, where danger or diſhonour lurks,

Safeſt

ſaid, Never leſs alone than when alone. Nunquam minus ſolus quam cum ſolus.

250. *And ſhort retirement urges ſweet return.*] Retirement, though but ſhort, makes the return ſweet: the word *urges* is to be referr'd to *retirement* only, and not to the epithet, which Adam ſeems to annex to it, only becauſe he could not bear to think of a *long* one. *Pearce.*

Safeſt and ſeemlieſt by her huſband ſtays,
Who guards her, or with her the worſt indures.
To whom the virgin majeſty of Eve,
As one who loves, and ſome unkindneſs meets,
With ſweet auſtere compoſure this reply'd.
Ofspring of Heav'n and Earth, and all Earth's Lord,
That ſuch an enemy we have, who ſeeks
Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn,
And from the parting Angel over-heard,
As in a ſhady nook I ſtood behind,
Juſt then return'd at ſhut of evening flowers.
But that thou ſhouldſt my firmneſs therefore doubt

To

270.—*the virgin majeſty of Eve,*] The Ancients uſed the word *virgin* with more latitude than we, as Virgil Eclog. VI. 47. calls Paſiphae virgin after ſhe had had three children, and Ovid calls Medea adultera virgo. Ovid. Epiſt. Hypſip. Jaſ. 133. It is put here to denote beauty, bloom, ſweetneſs, modeſty, and all the amiable characters which are uſually found in a virgin, and theſe with matron majeſty; what a picture! *Richardſon.*

It is probable that Milton adopted this adjective ſenſe of the word *virgin* from the Italian *virginale*, which is an epithet very frequent in their poets when deſcribing beauty, modeſty, &c. *Thyer.*

278. *Juſt then return'd at ſhut of evening flowers.*] What a natural notation of evening is this! and a proper time for her, who had *gone forth among her fruits and flowers*, VIII. 44. to *return*. But we muſt not conceive that Eve is ſpeaking of the evening laſt paſt, for this was a week ago. Satan was caught tempting Eve in a dream, and fled out of Paradiſe that night, and with this ends book the fourth. After he had fled out of Paradiſe he was ranging round the world ſeven days; but we have not any account of Adam and Eve excepting only on the firſt of thoſe days, which begins with the beginning of book the fifth, where Eve relates her dream; that day at noon the Angel Raphael comes down from Heaven; the Angel and Adam diſcourſe together till evening, and they part at the end of book the eighth.

To God or thee, becauſe we have a foe
May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
His violence thou fear'ſt not, being ſuch
As we, not capable of death or pain,
Can either not receive, or can repel.
His fraud is then thy fear, which plain infers
Thy equal fear that my firm faith and love
Can by his fraud be ſhaken or ſeduc'd;
Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breaſt,
Adam, miſthought of her to thee ſo dear?
To whom with healing words Adam reply'd.
Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve,

For

eighth. There are ſix days therefore paſt in ſilence, and we hear no more of Adam and Eve, till Satan had ſtolen again into Paradiſe.

282. *His violence thou fear'ſt not,*] Adam had not ſaid ſo expreſly, but had implied as much in inlarging particularly upon his *ſly aſſault*, ver. 256, &c.

289. *Adam miſthought of her to thee ſo dear?*] Dr. Bentley ſays that theſe words expreſs Adam's affection to her, and not her's to him, as the ſenſe requires: He therefore reads—*to thee ſo true?* But Milton gave it *dear*, and made Eve here allude to what Adam had ſaid of her in ver. 227.

—to me beyond
Compare above all living creatures *dear.*

If I am ſo dear to you, as you ſaid, how can you thus think amiſs of me? This was a good argument in Eve's mouth. *Pearce.*

291. *Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve,*] As Eve had call'd Adam *Ofspring of Heaven and Earth*, as made by God out of the duſt of the Earth; ſo Adam calls Eve *Daughter of God and Man*, as made by God out of Man; and acknowledges her to be *immortal*, as ſhe had ſaid herſelf, ver. 283. that they were *not capable of death or pain*; but only ſo long as ſhe was *entire from ſin and blame:* integer vitæ, ſceleriſque purus. Hor. Od. I. XXII. 1.

For ſuch thou art, from ſin and blame entire:
Not diffident of thee do I diſſuade
Thy abſence from my ſight, but to avoid
Th' attempt itſelf, intended by our foe.
For he who tempts, though' in vain, at leaſt aſperſes
The tempted with diſhonor foul, ſuppos'd
Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
Againſt temptation: thou thyſelf with ſcorn
And anger wouldſt reſent the offer'd wrong,
Though ineffectual found: miſdeem not then,
If ſuch affront I labor to avert
From thee alone, which on us both at once
The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare,
Or daring, firſt on me th' aſſault ſhall light.
Nor thou his malice and falſe guile contemn;
Subtle he needs muſt be, who could ſeduce
Angels; nor think ſuperfluous others aid.
I from the influence of thy looks receive
Acceſs in every virtue, in thy ſight
More

312.—*while ſhame, thou looking on,*] Milton often uſes the nominative caſe abſolute, as the Greeks do; which whether it ſhould be call'd a caſe abſolute, or an ellipſis, we leave to the Grammarians to determin. *Jortin.*

314.—*and rais'd unite.*] Would unite and add vigor to *wiſdom, watchfulneſs,* and *every virtue* mention'd before. If this be not the meaning, it muſt be underſtood thus, Would raiſe the utmoſt vigor, and unite and collect it all when rais'd.

318.—*domeſtic Adam*] This epithet

More wiſe, more watchful, ſtronger, if need were
Of outward ſtrength; while ſhame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or over-reach'd
Would utmoſt vigor raiſe, and rais'd unite.
Why ſhouldſt not thou like ſenſe within thee feel
When I am preſent, and thy trial chooſe
With me, beſt witneſs of thy virtue try'd?
So ſpake domeſtic Adam in his care
And matrimonal love; but Eve, who thought
Leſs attributed to her faith ſincere,
Thus her reply with accent ſweet renew'd.
If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit ſtraiten'd by a foe,
Subtle or violent, we not indued
Single with like defenſe, wherever met,
How are we happy, ſtill in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not ſin: only our foe
Tempting affronts us with his foul eſteem
Of our integrity: his foul eſteem

Sticks

thet ſeems to allude to what Adam had ſaid in ver. 232.

—nothing lovelier can be found
In woman than to ſtudy houſhold good,
And good works in her huſband to promote.

Domeſtic in his care, may ſignify here one who has a careful regard to the good of his family; and all this ſpeech of Adam's was intended for the ſecurity of his wife. *Pearce.*

320. *Leſs attributed*] That is, too little; an elegant Latiniſm. *Richardſon.*

Sticks no diſhonor on our front, but turns
Foul on himſelf; then wherefore ſhunn'd or fear'd
By us? who rather double honor gain
From his ſurmiſe prov'd falſe, find peace within,
Favor from Heav'n, our witneſs from th' event.
And what is faith, love, virtue unaſſy'd
Alone, without exterior help ſuſtain'd?
Let us not then ſuſpect our happy ſtate
Left ſo imperfect by the Maker wiſe,
As not ſecure to ſingle or combin'd.
Frail is our happineſs, if this be ſo,
And

330. *Sticks no diſhonour on our front,*] Here is ſuch a jingle and turn of the words, as we ſometimes meet with in our author; *He affronts us with his foul eſteem,* but *his foul eſteem ſticks no diſhonour on our front:* but our author alludes to the etymology of the word *affront:* adfrontare, i. e. frontem fronti committere, as Skinner ſays. And I find Shakeſpear uſing the word in its original ſignification. Cymbeline, Act IV.

——Good my liege,
Your preparation can *affront* no leſs
Than what you hear of.

And afterwards, Act V.

There was a fourth man—
That gave th' *affront* with them.

And in Hamlet, Act III.

That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia.

334.—*our witneſs from th' event.*] The Spirit bearing witneſs with our ſpirit, Rom. VIII. 16.

335. *And what is faith, love, virtue unaſſay'd*
Alone, without exterior help ſuſtain'd,?] What merit is there in any virtue till it has ſtood the teſt alone, and without other aſſiſtance?

Paulum ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ
Celata virtus. Hor. Od. IV. IX. 29. *Richardſon.*

339. *As not ſecure to ſingle or combin'd.*] As not to be ſecure to us ſingle or together.

342. *To whom thus Adam fervently reply'd.*
O Woman,] What Eve had juſt now ſaid requir'd ſome reprimand from Adam, and it was neceſſary to deſcribe

And Eden were no Eden thus expos'd.
To whom thus Adam fervently reply'd.
O Woman, beſt are all things as the will
Of God ordain'd them; his creating hand
Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he created, much leſs Man,
Or ought that might this happy ſtate ſecure,
Secure from outward force; within himſelf
The danger lies, yet lies within his power:
Againſt his will he can receive no harm.
But God left free the will, for what obeys
Reaſon,

deſcribe him as in ſome degree diſpleas'd; but what extreme delicacy has our author ſhown in chooſing the word *fervently* to expreſs it by? a term which tho' it implies ſome emotion, yet carries nothing in its idea inconſiſtent with that ſubſerviency of the paſſions, which ſubſiſted before the fall. In the two foregoing ſpeeches he had made Adam addreſs himſelf to her in the affectionate terms of *Sole Eve, aſſociate ſole*, and *Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve*; but here with great judgment he changes thoſe indearing words for theſe more authoritative, *O Woman*. I ſhould think that Milton in this expreſſion alluded to what our Saviour ſaid to the Virgin Mary, *Woman what have I to do with thee*, was not I ſatisfied, that he could not with his learning take theſe words in the vulgar miſtaken ſenſe, which our tranſlation naturally leads ignorant readers into, and muſt very well know that Γυνη amongſt the Greeks is a term of great reſpect. Indeed throughout this whole converſation, which the poet has in every reſpect worked up to a faultleſs perfection, there is the moſt exact obſervance of juſtneſs and propriety of character. With what ſtrength is the ſuperior excellency of man's underſtanding here pointed out, and how nicely does our author here ſketch out the defects peculiar in general to the female mind? and after all what great art has he ſhown in making Adam, contrary to his better reaſon, grant his ſpouſe's requeſt, beautifully verifying what he had made our general anceſtor a little before obſerve to the Angel? VIII. 546. *&c.*

Thyer.

353. *But*

Reaſon, is free, and reaſon he made right,
But bid her well be ware, and ſtill erect,
Leſt by ſome fair appearing good ſurpris'd
She dictate falſe, and miſinform the will
To do what God expreſly hath forbid.
Not then miſtruſt, but tender love injoins,
That I ſhould mind thee oft, and mind thou me.
Firm we ſubſiſt, yet poſſible to ſwerve,
Since reaſon not impoſſibly may meet
Some ſpecious object by the foe ſuborn'd,
And fall into deception unaware,
Not keeping ſtricteſt watch, as ſhe was warn'd.
Seek not temptation then, which to avoid
Were better, and moſt likely if from me
Thou ſever not: trial will come unſought.
Wouldſt thou approve thy conſtancy, approve
Firſt thy obedience; th' other who can know,

Not

353. *But bid her well be ware, and ſtill erect,*] It is very true, as Dr. Bentley obſerves, that *erect* requires the preceding word to be adjective like itſelf: but ſo is *ware* or wary, and ſo it is uſed Matth. XXIV. 50. *The Lord of that ſervant ſhall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not ware of*, and 2 Tim. IV. 15. *Of whom be thou ware alſo*; and by our author himſelf in the Maſk, *Silence was took ere ſhe was ware.* And therefore *be ware* ſhould not have been printed as one word, but as two; and then there could have been no miſtake about it.

372. *Go; for thy ſtay, not free, abſents thee more;*] It is related in the Life of Milton, that he went into the country in the Whitſuntide vacation, and married his firſt wife Mary the daughter of Juſtice Powell of Oxfordſhire. She had not cohabited

Not ſeeing thee attempted, who atteſt?
But if thou think, trial unſought may find
Us both ſecurer than thus warn'd thou ſeem'ſt,
Go; for thy ſtay, not free, abſents thee more;
Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou haſt of virtue, ſummon all,
For God tow'ards thee hath done his part, do thine.
So ſpake the patriarch of mankind; but Eve
Perſiſted, yet ſubmiſs, though laſt, reply'd.
With thy permiſſion then, and thus forewarn'd
Chiefly by what thy own laſt reaſoning words
Touch'd only, that our trial, when leaſt ſought,
May find us both perhaps far leſs prepar'd,
The willinger I go, nor much expect
A foe ſo proud will firſt the weaker ſeek;
So bent the more ſhall ſhame him his repulſe.
Thus ſaying, from her huſband's hand her hand
Soft

bited with him above a month, before ſhe was very deſirous of returning to her friends in the country, there to ſpend the remainder of the ſummer. We may ſuppoſe, that upon this occaſion their converſation was ſomewhat of the ſame nature as Adam and Eve's; and it was upon ſome ſuch conſiderations as this, that after much ſolicitation he permitted her to go,

Go; for thy ſtay, not free, abſents thee more.

It is the more probable, that he alluded to his own caſe in this account of Adam and Eve's parting, as in the account of their reconciliation it will appear that he copied exactly what happen'd to himſelf.

385. *Thus ſaying, from her huſband's hand her hand*
Soft ſhe withdrew, &c.] The reader cannot but be pleas'd with this image. Notwithſtanding this difference of judgment, while Adam is reaſon-

Soft ſhe withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves, but Delia's ſelf
In gate ſurpaſs'd, and Goddeſs-like deport,
Though

reaſoning and arguing with her, he ſtill holds her by the hand, which ſhe gently withdraws, a little impatient to be gone, even while ſhe is ſpeaking. And then like a *Wood-nymph light*, *Oread* a nymph of the mountains, or *Dryad* a nymph of the groves, of the oaks particularly, *or of Delia's train*, the train of Diana, who is called *Delia* as ſhe was born in the iland Delos, ſhe *betook her to the groves*; but ſhe ſurpaſs'd not only Diana's nymphs, but Diana herſelf. But as this beautiful ſimilitude is formed very much upon one in Homer, and its parallel in Virgil, it may be proper to quote them both, in order to make the beauties of this better apprehended. Hom. Odyſſ. VI. 102.

Οἵη δ' Ἀρτεμις εισι κατ' ὀρεσφι ιοχεαιρα,
Η καλα Τηυγέτον περιμηκέτον, η Ερυμανθον,
Τέρπομενη καπροισι και ὠκειης ελαφοισι
Τῇ δε Τ' ἁμα Νυμφαι, κυραι Διος Αιγιόχοιο,
Αγρονομοι παιζουσι· γεγηθε δε τε φρενα Λητω.
Πασαων δ' ὑπερ ἠγε καρη εχει ηδε μετωπα,
Ρεια δ' αριγνωτη πελεται, καλαι δε τε πασαι·
Ὡς ἡγ' αμφιπολοισι μεταπρεπε παρθενος ἁδμης.

As when o'er Erymanth Diana roves
Or wide Taÿgetus' reſounding groves;
A ſylvan train the huntreſs queen ſurrounds,
Her rattling quiver from her ſhoulder ſounds:
Fierce in the ſport, along the mountain brow
They bay the boar, or chaſe the bounding roe:
High o'er the lawn, with more majeſtic pace,
Above the nymphs ſhe treads with ſtately grace;
Diſtinguiſh'd excellence the Goddeſs proves;
Exults Latona as the Virgin moves.
With equal grace Nauſicaa trod the plain,
And ſhone tranſcendent o'er the beauteous train Broome.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros; quam mille ſecutæ
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades: illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradienſque Deas ſupereminet omnes:
Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.
Tales erat Dido: talem ſe læta ferebat
Per medios. Virg. Æn. I. 498.

Such

Though not as ſhe with bow and quiver arm'd
But with ſuch gard'ning tools as art yet rude,
Guiltleſs of fire, had form'd, or Angels brought.
To Pales, or Pomona thus adorn'd,

Likeſt

Such on Eurotas' banks, or Cynthus' hight,
Diana ſeems; and ſo ſhe charms the ſight,
When in the dance the graceful Goddeſs leads
The quire of Nymphs, and overtops their heads.
Known by her quiver, and her lofty mien,
She walks majeſtic, and ſhe looks their queen:
Latona ſees her ſhine above the reſt,
And feeds with ſecret joy her ſilent breaſt.
Such Dido was; with ſuch becoming ſtate,
Amidſt the croud, ſhe walks ſerenely great. Dryden.

The others are like Diana in their gate, but Eve ſurpaſſes her, only ſhe wears different enſigns, *not a bow and quiver, but ſuch gard'ning tools as art yet rude, guiltleſs of fire, had form'd*, before fire was as yet ſtol'n from Heaven by Prometheus as the Ancients fabled, *or* ſuch tools as *Angels brought*.

393. *To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,*
Likeſt ſhe ſeem'd, &c.] Theſe four verſes Dr. Bentley rejects, as the editor's manufacture. Let us examin his objections to them. For *likelieſt* (ſays he) he meant *likeſt*. So he did, and ſo the firſt edition gives it, as the Doctor might have ſeen, if he pleas'd, becauſe the firſt edition was before him. He objects farther that Eve, who was before like the *Wood-Nymphs* and *Delia*, is here *likeſt* to *Pales*, or *Pomona*, or *Ceres*; all unlike one another, and yet Eve is like them all. But he ſeems not to obſerve, that Eve is here compar'd to the latter three, upon a different account, than ſhe was compar'd to the former. She was liken'd to the *Wood-Nymphs* and *Delia* in regard to her gate; but now that Milton had mention'd her being *arm'd with garden tools*, he beautifully compares her to *Pales*, *Pomona*, and *Ceres*, all three Goddeſſes like to each other in theſe circumſtances, that they were handſome, that they preſided over gard'ning and cultivation of ground, and that they are uſually deſcribed by the ancient poets, as carrying tools of gard'ning or huſbandry in their hands: thus Ovid in Metam. XIV. 628. ſays of *Pomona*,

Nec jaculo gravis eſt, ſed aduncâ dextera falce.

The Doctor objects again, and ſays that Eve is not here ſaid to be like *Pomona* always, but *when ſhe fled Vertumnus*, who would have raviſh'd her. But Milton's meaning is, that ſhe was like *Pomona*, not preciſely at the hour when ſhe fled Vertumnus, but at that time of her life when

Ver-

Likeſt ſhe ſeem'd, Pomona when ſhe fled
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proſerpina from Jove.
Her long with ardent look his eye purſu'd
Delighted, but deſiring more her ſtay.
Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated,

Vertumnus made his addreſſes to her, that is when ſhe was in all her perfection of beauty, as deſcrib'd by Ovid in the place above-cited. But the Doctor's greateſt quarrel is with the latter part of theſe four verſes: *Ceres in her prime*, ſays he? What? have Goddeſſes the decays of old age, and do they grow paſt their prime? And yet it is very frequent with the old poets to deſcribe their Gods as paſſing from youth to old age. Juvenal ſays in Sat. VI. 15.

——ſed Jove nondum
Barbato.

Virgil deſcribes Charon thus, Æn. VI. 304.

Jam ſenior; ſed cruda Deo viridiſque ſenectus.

And again we have in Æn. VII. 180. Saturnuſque ſenex. But what monſter of a phraſe (ſays the Doctor) is that *virgin of Proſerpina?* And I confeſs that it is one of the moſt forc'd expreſſions in this whole poem: probably our poet was led into it, by imitating the like phraſe of ſome Italian poet. But the ſenſe is plain enough, *viz.* that ſhe had not yet borne *Proſerpina*, who deriv'd her birth *from Jove:* for the like uſe of the word *from*, when other words are to be ſupply'd in the ſenſe, ſee II. 542. and VIII. 213. I have met with ſome gentlemen, who thought that the laſt of theſe verſes out to be read thus,

—or to Ceres in her prime
Yet virgin, *or* Proſerpina from Jove.

And this reading at firſt ſight is very apt to pleaſe and perſuade one of its genuinneſs, becauſe it frees the text from that hard expreſſion, *virgin of Proſerpina:* but when we conſider the matter farther, it will be found that Milton could never have intended to compare Eve with Proſerpina, becauſe ſhe had nothing to do with huſbandry or gard'ning, on account of which only this compariſon is introduc'd. *Pearce.*

394. *Likeſt ſhe ſeem'd,*] So it is in Milton's firſt edition; in the ſecond edition by miſtake it is printed *Likelieſt*, and this has been follow'd in all the editions ſince, at leaſt in all that I have ſeen.

395. —— *Ceres in her prime,*
Yet virgin of Proſerpina from Jove.] This ſeems to be a Greciſm, and tranſlated from Theocritus (Idyl. II. 136.)

Repeated, ſhe to him as oft engag'd
To be return'd by noon amid the bower,
And all things in beſt order to invite
Noontide repaſt, or afternoon's repoſe.
O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapleſs Eve,
Of thy preſum'd return! event perverſe!
Thou

136.) who ſays παρθενον εκ θαλαμων for Virginem innuptam. 'Tis the ſame turn of expreſſion in both. So that Dr. Bentley was ſtrangely miſtaken in calling it *a monſter of an expreſſion, and not human language*; it having an elegance ſuperior in my opinion to the Engliſh phraſe—"a "virgin, not having yet conceived "Proſerpina who was begot by "Jove." *Warburton.*

401. *To be return'd by noon amid the bower,*
And all things in beſt order to invite &c.] Here ſeems to be a want of a verb before *all things* &c. Dr. Bentley therefore reads

To be return'd by noon, *and at* the bower
Have all things in beſt order to invite.

But if it be neceſſary to inſert the word *have*, I would read thus with leſs alteration,

And all things in beſt order *have* to' invite. *Pearce.*

There ſeems to be no neceſſity for any alteration. If *the bower* had been mention'd alone, he would hardly have ſaid *amid the bower*, but rather *at the bower* or *in the bower*; but *amid the bower and all things* is right.

404. *O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapleſs Eve,*
Of thy preſum'd return!] That is, much failing of thy preſum'd return. Theſe beautiful apoſtrophes and anticipations are frequent in the poets, who affect to ſpeak in the character of prophets, and like men inſpir'd with the knowledge of futurity. Thus Virgil to Turnus Æn. X. 501.

Neſcia mens hominum fati ſortiſque futuræ,
Et ſervare modum rebus ſublata ſecundis.
Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, et cum ſpolia iſta diemque
Oderit.

O mortals! blind in fate, who never know
To bear high fortune, or indure the low.
The time ſhall come, when Turnus, but in vain,
Shall wiſh untouch'd the trophies of the ſlain;

Shall

Thou never from that hour in Paradiſe
Found'ſt either ſweet repaſt, or ſound repoſe;
Such ambuſh hid among ſweet flow'rs and ſhades
Waited with helliſh rancor imminent
To intercept thy way, or ſend thee back
Deſpoil'd of innocence, of faith, of bliſs.
For now, and ſince firſt break of dawn the Fiend,
Mere ſerpent in appearance, forth was come,
And on his queſt, where likelieſt he might find
The only two of mankind, but in them
The whole included race, his purpos'd prey.
In bow'r and field he ſought, where any tuft
Of grove or garden-plot more pleaſant lay,
Their tendence or plantation for delight;
By fountain or by ſhady rivulet
He ſought them both, but wiſh'd his hap might find
Eve

Shall wiſh the fatal belt were far away,
And curſe the dire remembrance of the day. Dryden.

And Homer Iliad. XVII. 497.

Νηπιοι, οὐδ' ἀρ' ἐμελλον ἀναιμωλιν γε νεεσθαι.

There is ſomething very moving in ſuch reflections concerning the vanity of all human hopes, and how little events anſwer our expectations.

408. *Such ambuſh hid*] So it is in Milton's own editions, and I know not how it comes to be printed *Such ambuſh laid*, but ſo both Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton have printed it.

427. —*oft ſtooping to ſupport*
Each flow'r of tender ſtalk,——*mindleſs the while*
Her-

Eve ſeparate, he wiſh'd, but not with hope
Of what ſo ſeldom chanc'd, when to his wiſh,
Beyond his hope, Eve ſeparate he ſpies,
Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where ſhe ſtood,
Half ſpy'd, ſo thick the roſes bluſhing round
About her glow'd, oft ſtooping to ſupport
Each flow'r of ſlender ſtalk, whoſe head though gay
Carnation, purple', azure, or ſpeck'd with gold,
Hung drooping unſuſtain'd; them ſhe upſtays
Gently with myrtle band, mindleſs the while
Herſelf, though faireſt unſupported flower,
From her beſt prop ſo far, and ſtorm ſo nigh.
Nearer he drew, and many a walk travérs'd
Of ſtatelieſt covert, cedar, pine, or palm,
Then voluble and bold, now hid, now ſeen
Among thick-woven arborets and flowers

Im-

Herſelf, though faireſt unſupported flower,] We have the ſame manner of ſpeaking in IV. 269.

— where Proſerpin gathering flowers,
Herſelf a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd.

A thought that muſt have pleas'd our author, ſince he has it a ſecond time.

434. *Nearer he drew*, &c.] The ſeveral wiles which are put in practice by the tempter, when he found Eve ſeparated from her huſband, the many pleaſing images of nature which are intermixed in this part of the ſtory, with its gradual and regular progreſs to the fatal cataſtrophe, are ſo very remarkable, that it would be ſuperfluous, to point out their reſpective beauties. *Addiſon.*

Imborder'd on each bank, the hand of Eve:
Spot more delicious than thoſe gardens feign'd
Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd
Alcinous, hoſt of old Laertes' ſon,
Or that, not myſtic, where the ſapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian ſpouſe.

Much

438. *Imborder'd on each bank,*] Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *Imbroider'd*, proper to *thick-woven*. But *imborder'd* is the right word according to Biſhop Kennet, who in his gloſſary to his *Parochial Antiquities* in the word *Bordarii* ſays, *Some derive it from the old Gallic* bords, *the limits or extremes of any extent: as the* borders *of a county and the* borderers *or inhabitants in thoſe parts. Whence the* bordure *of a garment, and to* imborder *which we corrupt to* imbroider. See alſo Furetiere's French Dictionary on the words *Brodeur* and *Embordurer*.

Pearce.

Imborder'd on each bank, the banks were border'd with the flowers, *the hand of Eve*, the handiwork of Eve, as we ſay of a picture that it is the hand of ſuch or ſuch a maſter. And thus Virgil, Æn. I. 455.

Artificumque *manus* inter ſe operumque laborem
Miratur.

439. *Spot more delicious* &c.] He is not ſpeaking here of Paradiſe in general, but of this particular ſpot, the handiwork of Eve; and he ſays it was more delicious than the gardens of *Adonis* or *Alcinous* are feign'd to be. *Of reviv'd Adonis*; for after he was kill'd by the wild boar, it is ſaid that at Venus's requeſt he was reſtor'd to life. And we learn from St. Jerom, Cyril, and other writers, that his anniverſary feſtival was open'd with ſorrow and mourning for his death, and concluded with ſinging and rejoicing for his revival. It is very true, as Dr. Bentley ſays, that Κηποι Ἀδωνιδος, *the gardens of Adonis*, ſo frequently mention'd by Greek writers, Plato, Plutarch, &c. were nothing but portable earthen pots with ſome lettice or fennel growing in them, and thrown away the next day after the yearly feſtival of Adonis: *whence the gardens of Adonis* grew to be a proverb of contempt for any fruitleſs, fading, periſhable affair. But, as Dr. Pearce replies, Why did the Grecians on Adonis's feſtival carry theſe ſmall earthen gardens about in honor of him? was it not becauſe they had a tradition, that when he was alive he delighted in gardens, and had a magnificent one? Pliny mentions the gardens of *Adonis* and *Alcinous* together as Milton does. *There is nothing that the Ancients admir'd more than the gardens of the Heſperides*,

Much he the place admir'd, the perſon more.
As one who long in populous city pent,
Where houſes thick and ſewers annoy the air,
Forth iſſuing on a ſummer's morn to breathe
Among the pleaſant villages and farms
Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight,
The

rides, and thoſe of the kings Adonis and Alcinous. Antiquitas nihil prius mirata eſt quàm Heſperidum hortos, ac regum Adonidis et Alcinoi. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. XIX. cap. 4. The Italian poet Marino in his *L'Adone*, Cant. VI. deſcribes the gardens of Adonis at large: and Huetius in his Demonſtr. Evangel. Prop. 4. cap. 3. ſect. 3. ſays of the Greeks, Regem *Adonidem hortorum* curæ impenſè fuiſſe deditum narrantes. Our countryman Spenſer celebrates the gardens of Adonis in his Faery Queen, Book 3. Cant. 6. the title of which is

The gardens of *Adonis*, fraught
With pleaſures manifold;

where he likewiſe gives an account of his death and revival. Shakeſpear too mentions the garden of Adonis, 1 Part of Henry VI. Act I. The Dauphin ſpeaks to Pucelle,

Thy promiſes are like Adonis' garden,
That one day bloom'd, and fruitful were the next.

And Milton himſelf in the *Maſk* ſpeaks of

Beds of hyacinth and roſes,
Where young *Adonis* oft repoſes,
Waxing well of his deep wound
In ſlumber ſoft:

And in his *Defenſio Secunda* he mentions both the gardens of Alcinous and Adonis, and here calls them *feign'd*, which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes theſe gardens of Adonis from thoſe little earthen pots which were really exhibited at his feſtival. And the gardens of *Alcinous* he has alluded to before V. 341. *Alcinous, hoſt to old Laertes' ſon*, that is to Ulyſſes whom he entertain'd in his return from Troy, as Homer informs us, Odyſſey book the 7th, where he gives us a charming deſcription of his gardens; which Mr. Pope ſelected from other parts of Homer's works, and tranſlated and publiſhed in the Guardian before he attempted the reſt. *Or that, not myſtic*, not fabulous as the reſt, not allegorical as ſome have fancied, but a real garden, which Solomon made for his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. See Canticles. And thus, as the moſt beautiful countries in the world, IV. 268—285. could not vy with Paradiſe, ſo neither could the moſt delicious gardens equal *this flow'ry plat, the ſweet receſs of Eve.*

The ſmell of grain, or tedded graſs, or kine,
Or dairy', each rural ſight, each rural ſound;
If chance with nymphlike ſtep fair virgin paſs,
What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her now pleaſes more,
She moſt, and in her look ſums all delight:
Such pleaſure took the Serpent to behold
This flow'ry plat, the ſweet receſs of Eve
Thus early, thus alone; her heav'nly form
Angelic, but more ſoft, and femenine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air

Of

450.—*tedded graſs,*] Graſs juſt mow'd and ſpread for drying.
Richardſon.

See likewiſe Lye's Junii Etymologicum under the word *Tede.*

453. *What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her now pleaſes more,*] Did not the beautiful aſſemblage of proper circumſtances in this charmingly natural and familiar ſimile lead one to think, that Milton took the hint of it from ſome real ſcene of this ſort, which had ſome time or other ſmit his fancy, I ſhould be apt to think that he alluded to this ſame thought in Spenſer, who deſcribing his hero Guyon with a fair lady upon a little iſland adorn'd with all the beauties of nature adds, Faery Queen, B. 2. Cant. 6. St. 24.

And all though pleaſant, yet ſhe made much more. *Thyer.*

457. —*her heav'nly form* &c.] This is a ſcene of much the ſame nature with that betwixt the Saracen king Aladin and the Italian virgin Sophronia in the 2d Canto of Taſſo's Jeruſalem: and tho' perhaps it would be going too far to ſay that Milton has borrow'd from thence, yet I think it muſt give the reader ſome pleaſure to ſee, how two great geniuſes naturally fall into the ſame thoughts upon ſimilar ſubjects. Milton ſpeaking of Eve ſays,

———her every air
Of geſture or leaſt action over-aw'd
His malice, &c.

Taſſo ſpeaking of Sophronia's addreſſing herſelf to the fierce Aladin ſays,

A l'honeſta baldanza, a l'improviſo
Folgorar di bellezze altere, e ſante,
Quaſi confuſo il re, quaſi conquiſo
Frenò lo ſdegno, e placò il fier ſembiante.

How

Of geſture or leaſt action overaw'd
His malice, and with rapin ſweet bereav'd
His fierceneſs of the fierce intent it brought:
That ſpace the Evil-one abſtracted ſtood
From his own ev'il, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good, of enmity diſarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge;
But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heav'n, ſoon ended his delight,
And tortures him now more, the more he ſees

Of

How like again is what Milton ſays of Satan,

That ſpace the Evil-one abſtracted ſtood
From his own ev'il, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good,——

to what Taſſo ſays of the ſtate of Aladin's mind,

Fù ſtupor, fù vaghezza, e fù diletto,
S'amor non fù, che moſſe il cor villano!

They both alſo agree in making each of them immediately to relapſe into their firſt character. Milton.

——— then ſoon
Fierce hate he recollects,—

Taſſo,

Qui comincia il tirranno a riſdegnarſi:

It muſt be own'd however, that notwithſtanding this ſimilitude of circumſtances, the Engliſh poet vaſtly excels the Italian both in ſtrength of ſentiments and beauty of expreſſion. It may be further obſerved, that there never was a finer or juſter compliment paid to beauty than is here by Milton, as it is not made up of rant and rhapſody as moſt of this kind are, but only ſaying what one may eaſily imagin might have really happen'd upon the ſight of ſo delightful a ſcene. *Thyer.*

462. *His fierceneſs of the fierce intent*] Tho' Dr. Bentley thinks it jejune, yet ſuch a repetition is not uncommon in the beſt poets.

Et noſtro *doluiſti* ſæpe *dolore*.
Virg. Æn. I. 669.

468. *Though in mid Heav'n*,] That is, would do though he were in Heaven, or it may be underſtood as if he were ſometimes in Heaven, and juſtified by Job I. 6. II. 1. *There was a day, when the ſons of*

Of pleaſure not for him ordain'd: then ſoon
Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of miſchief, gratulating, thus excites.
Thoughts, whither have ye led me! with what ſweet
Compulſion thus tranſported to forget
What hither brought us! hate, not love, nor hope
Of Paradiſe for Hell, hope here to taſte
Of pleaſure, but all pleaſure to deſtroy,
Save what is in deſtroying; other joy
To me is loſt. Then let me not let paſs
Occaſion which now ſmiles; behold alone
The woman, opportune to all attempts,
Her huſband, for I view far round, not nigh,
Whoſe higher intellectual more I ſhun,
And ſtrength, of courage haughty, and of limb

Heroic

God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them to preſent himſelf before the Lord. And Satan ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe in Paradiſe Regain'd, I. 366.

—nor from the Heav'n of Heav'ns
Hath he excluded my reſort ſometimes &c.

478. —— *other joy*
To me is loſt.] How exactly does Milton make Satan keep up the character he had aſſum'd in the fourth book, where he ſays

Evil be thou my good &c! *Thyer.*

486.—*exempt from wound,*] As Eve had ſaid before that they were *not capable of death or pain*, ver. 283. that is as long as they continued innocent.

490. *Not terrible, though terror be in love*
And beauty, not approach'd by ſtronger hate,] Satan had been ſaying that he dreaded Adam, ſuch was his ſtrength of body and mind, and his own ſo debas'd from what it was in Heaven: but Eve (he goes on to ſay) is lovely, not terrible, though terror be in love and beauty, unleſs 'tis approach'd by a mind arm'd with hate as his is;

Heroic built, though of terreſtrial mold,
Foe not informidable, exempt from wound,
I not; ſo much hath Hell debas'd, and pain
Infeebled me, to what I was in Heaven.
She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terror be in love
And beauty, not approach'd by ſtronger hate,
Hate ſtronger, under ſhow of love well feign'd,
The way which to her ruin now I tend.
So ſpake the enemy' of mankind, inclos'd
In ſerpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve
Addreſs'd his way, not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as ſince, but on his rear,
Circular baſe of riſing folds, that tower'd
Fold above fold a ſurging maze, his head
Creſted

is; a hate the greater, as 'tis diſguis'd under diſſembled love. An excellent writer (Dr. Pearce) hath obſerv'd on this paſſage, "that a "beautiful woman is approach'd "with terror, unleſs he who ap- "proaches her has a ſtronger hatred "of her than her beauty can be- "get love in him." *Richardſon.* Something like this in Paradiſe Regain'd, II. 159.

—virgin majeſty with mild
And ſweet allay'd, yet terrible
t' approach. *Thyer.*

496.—*not with indented wave,*] *Indented* is of the ſame derivation as *indenture*, notched and going in and out like the teeth of a ſaw: and Shakeſpear applies it likewiſe to the motions of a ſnake in As you like it, Act IV.

And with *indented* glides did ſlip
away.

499. *Fold above fold* &c.] We have the deſcription of ſuch a ſort of ſerpent in Ovid. Met. III. 32.

——criſtis præſignis et auro;
Igne micant oculi——
Ille volubilibus ſquamoſos nexibus orbes
Torquet, et immenſos ſaltu ſinuatur in arcus:

Creſted aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burniſh'd neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidſt his circling ſpires, that on the graſs
Floted

Ac media plus parte leves erectus in auras,
Deſpicit omne nemus &c.

Fire broke in flaſhes when he glanc'd his eyes;
His tow'ring creſt was glorious to behold,
His ſhoulders and his ſides were ſcal'd with gold.——
Spire above ſpire uprear'd in air he ſtood,
And gazing round him overlook'd the wood. Addiſon.

But our author has not only imitated Ovid, but has ranſack'd all the good poets, who have ever made a remarkable deſcription of a ſerpent; and the reader may obſerve ſome touches very like Grotius's deſcription of the ſame ſerpent in his tragedy of Adamus Exul. Act. IV.

——oculi ardent duo:
Adrecta cervix ſurgit, et maculis nitet
Pectus ſuperbis; cærulis picti notis
Sinuantur orbes: tortiles ſpiræ micant
Auri colore &c.

504. —— *never ſince of ſerpent kind* &c.] Satan is not here compar'd and preferr'd to the fineſt and moſt memorable ſerpents of antiquity, the Python and the reſt; but only to the moſt memorable of thoſe ſerpents into which others were transformed; and with the greater propriety, as he was himſelf now transform'd into a ſerpent. And in this view it is ſaid that none were *lovelier, not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus. Cadmus* and his wife *Harmonia* or *Hermione*, for ſhe is call'd by either name, and I preſume Milton thought *Hermione and Cadmus* more muſical in verſe as it certainly is than *Harmonia and Cadmus*. This *Cadmus* together with his wife leaving Thebes in Bœotia, which he had founded and for divers misfortunes quitted, and coming into *Illyria*, they were both turned into ſerpents for having ſlain one ſacred to Mars, as we read in the fourth book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis. But the expreſſion, *thoſe that chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, has occaſion'd ſome difficulty. Did thoſe ſerpents, ſays Dr. Bentley, *change Hermione and Cadmus?* or were not theſe, who were man and woman once, *chang'd* into ſerpents? And Dr. Pearce replies, We may excuſe this as a poetical liberty of expreſſion; 'tis much the ſame as the critics have obſerved in Ovid's Metam. I. 1. where *formas mutatas in nova corpora* ſtands for *corpora mutata in novas formas*. In both places the *changing* is attributed, not to the perſons chang'd, but to the forms or ſhapes into which they were chang'd. *Which chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, that is into which Hermione and Cadmus were chang'd. So Horace ſays, Sat. II. VIII. 49.

—aceto

Floted redundant: pleaſing was his ſhape
And lovely; never ſince of ſerpent kind
Lovelier, not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd 505
Her-

—— aceto
Quod Methymnæam vitio mutaverat uvam,

for in quod vitio mutata eſt uva Methymnæa. If this may be not allow'd to paſs, yet I ſee no reaſon (ſays Dr. Pearce) why the conſtruction may not be this, *not thoſe that in Illyria* (were) *chang'd*, viz. *Hermione and Cadmus* &c. Or perhaps this; *not thoſe that Hermione and Cadmus chang'd*, where *chang'd* ſtands for *chang'd* to, as in X. 540. we have the ſame way of ſpeaking,

——for what they ſaw,
They felt themſelves now *changing*.

But after all theſe very ingenious conjectures, I conceive the meaning to be as it is expreſs'd, and the expreſſion to be the moſt proper and appoſite that could be. The ſerpents *chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*. The form of ſerpents was ſuperinduc'd, but they ſtill retain'd the ſame ſenſe and memory; and this Ovid ſays expreſly. When Cadmus was firſt chang'd, IV. 595.

—Ille ſuæ lambebat conjugis ora;
Inque ſinus caros, veluti cognoſceret, ibat;
Et dabat amplexus, aſſuetaque colla petebat.

The huſband-ſerpent ſhow'd he ſtill had thought,
With wonted fondneſs an embrace he ſought;
Play'd round her neck in many a harmleſs twiſt,
And lick'd that boſom which, a man, he kiſt.

And after the wife was chang'd too, it is ſaid, ver. 602.

Nunc quoque nec fugiunt hominem, nec vulnere lædunt:
Quidque prius fuerint, placidi meminere dracones.

Fearleſs ſee men, by men are fearleſs ſeen,
Still mild and conſcious what they once have been. Euſden.

They were therefore ſtill Hermione and Cadmus, though chang'd; as the Devil was ſtill the Devil, though inclos'd in a ſerpent. And thus it may be ſaid with the greateſt propriety, that none of ſerpent kind were lovelier, *not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus, or the God in Epidaurus*, that is Æſculapius the God of phyſic, the ſon of Apollo, who was worſhipped at *Epidaurus*, a city of Peloponneſus, and being ſent for to Rome in the time of a plague aſſumed the form of a ſerpent and accompanied the ambaſſadors, as the ſtory was related in the eleventh book of Livy, and may ſtill be read in the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis: but tho' he was thus chang'd in appearance, he was ſtill Æſculapius, *In ſerpente Deus* as Ovid calls him XV. 670. *the deity in a ſerpent*, and under that form con-

Hermione and Cadmus, or the God
In Epidaurus; nor to which transform'd
Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline was ſeen,
He with Olympias, this with her who bore
Scipio the highth of Rome. With tract oblique
At firſt, as one who ſought acceſs, but fear'd
To interrupt, ſide-long he works his way.
As when a ſhip by ſkilful ſteerſman wrought
Nigh

continued to be worſhipp'd at Rome. *Nor* were thoſe ſerpents lovelier, *to which transform'd Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was ſeen*, Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus, the one the Lybian Jupiter, the other the Roman, call'd *Capitoline* from the Capitol his temple at Rome: *He with Olympias*, the firſt the pretended father of Alexander the Great, converſing with his mother Olympias in the form of a ſerpent: *this with her who bore Scipio the highth of Rome*, the latter fabled in like manner to have been the father of Scipio Africanus, who raiſed his country and himſelf to the higheſt pitch of glory. Dr. Bentley objects to this expreſſion *the highth of Rome*. But as Dr. Pearce obſerves in anſwer, this expreſſion is much of the ſame nature with Ovid's *Summa ducum Atrides*, Amor. l. 1. el. 9. v. 37. and with Cicero's expreſſion *Apex ſenectutis eſt auctoritas*, de Senect. The Italians, whoſe expreſſions Milton often imitates, uſe *altezza* in the ſame ſenſe, if I remember aright.

513. *As when a ſhip* &c.] There are ſome Latin poems of Andrew Ramſay, a Scotchman in the time of Charles the firſt, under this title *Poemata ſacra Andreæ Ramſæi Paſtoris Edinburgeni. Edinburgi* 1633. The book is now grown very ſcarce, but there are few poems in it. The principal is one in four books, the firſt of the creation, the ſecond of the happy ſtate of man, the third of the fall of man, the fourth of the redemption of man by Jeſus Chriſt: and this poem was recommended to me as a performance to which Milton had been much oblig'd and indebted: but upon peruſing it I do not well ſee how two authors could write ſo much upon the ſame ſubjects, and write more differently. There are few or no traces to be diſcover'd of any ſimilitude or reſemblance between them, but in the ſimile before us, and the following one of the Scotch poet, and theſe are ſo different, and applied ſo differently, that they may both be originals, or at leaſt not the copy the one

Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
Veers oft, as oft ſo ſteers, and ſhifts her ſail:
So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in ſight of Eve,
To lure her eye; ſhe buſied heard the ſound
Of ruſling leaves, but minded not, as us'd
To ſuch diſport before her through the field,
From every beaſt, more duteous at her call,

Than

one of the other. Milton's is applied to the oblique motion of the ſerpent, this of Ramſay to the Devil tempting our Saviour, and when one temptation would not avail, trying another:

——Ut vento portum qui fortè reflante
Non potis eſt capere, is malos et lintea vela
Carbaſeoſque ſinus obliquat, tendere rectâ
Qua nequit, incurvo radit vada cærula curſu;
Sic gnarus verſare dolos, et imagine falſa
Ludere Tartareus coluber, contingere metam
Se non poſſe videns primo molimite, curſum
Mutat, et ad palmam converſo tramite tendit.

So that upon the whole it is to be queſtion'd whether Milton had ever ſeen theſe poems of Ramſay, or knew any thing of them; and he might ſtill ſay with truth that he purſued

Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime.

And in the general it may be ſaid, that reſemblance is not plagiariſm. Different authors may poſſibly hit upon the ſame thought without borrowing from one another. An author, of great reading eſpecially, may be ting'd and color'd as it were by his reading: his writings may have ſomething of the taſte of the books which he has read without his knowing it, as the ſtream partakes of the qualities of the earth thro' which it paſſes; and he may ſometimes make uſe of the thoughts of others, and ſtill believe them his own. This may be the caſe with regard to thoſe authors, whom he is known to have read; and much leſs can he be certainly charg'd with ſtealing from authors, when it is very uncertain whether he has read them or not.

522. *Than*

Than at Circean call the herd diſguis'd.
He bolder now, uncall'd before her ſtood,
But as in gaze admiring: oft he bow'd
His turret creſt, and ſleek enamel'd neck,
Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon ſhe trod.
His gentle dumb expreſſion turn'd at length
The eye of Eve to mark his play; he glad
Of her attention gain'd, with ſerpent tongue
Organic, or impulſe of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began.
Wonder not, ſovran Miſtreſs, if perhaps
Thou can'ſt, who art ſole wonder; much leſs arm
Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildneſs, with diſdain,
Diſpleas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Inſatiate, I thus ſingle, nor have fear'd
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
Faireſt reſemblance of thy Maker fair,

Thee

522. *Than at Circean call the herd diſguis'd,*] All beaſts of the field uſed to play and ſport before her, more obedient to her voice, than men turn'd into beaſts by the famous inchantreſs Circe were at her beck. Ovid. Metam. XIV. 45.

——peque ferarum
Agmen adulantûm media procedit ab aula. *Hume.*

530. *Organic, or impulſe of vocal air,*] That the Devil moved the ſerpent's tongue, and uſed it as an inſtrument to form that tempting ſpeech he made to Eve, is the opinion of ſome; that he form'd a voice by impreſſion of the ſounding air, diſtant from the ſerpent, is that of others: of which our author has left the curious to their choice. *Hume.*

531. *His*

Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
By gift, and thy celeſtial beauty' adore
With raviſhment beheld, there beſt beheld
Where univerſally admir'd; but here
In this incloſure wild, theſe beaſts among,
Beholders rude, and ſhallow to diſcern
Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
Who ſee's thee? (and what is one?) who ſhould be ſeen
A Goddeſs among Gods, ador'd and ſerv'd
By Angels numberleſs, thy daily train.
So gloz'd the Tempter, and his proem tun'd;
Into the heart of Eve his words made way,
Though at the voice much marveling; at length
Not unamaz'd ſhe thus in anſwer ſpake.
What may this mean? language of man pronounc'd
By tongue of brute, and human ſenſe expreſs'd?
The firſt at leaſt of theſe I thought deny'd
To

531. *His fraudulent temptation thus began.*] We ſee by this firſt ſpeech of Satan what our author thought the moſt probable, the moſt natural, and the moſt ſucceſsful way of beginning a temptation upon a woman, namely flattery, extravagant admiration of her perſon, and fulſome commendations of her merit and beauty, and by theſe means engaging her attention, and ſo deluding her to ruin. This ſpeech is much of the ſame ſtrain and ſpirit with that which Satan had made to her before in her dream, V. 37, *&c.* and it had a fatal effect, for

Into the heart of Eve his words made way.

To cry her up as a Goddeſs was the readieſt way to make her a mere mortal.

556.—*whom*

To beaſts, whom God on their creation-day
Created mute to all articulate ſound;
The latter I demur, for in their looks
Much reas'on, and in their actions oft appears.
Thee, Serpent, ſubtleſt beaſt of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice indued;
Redouble then this miracle, and ſay,
How cam'ſt thou ſpeakable of mute, and how
To me ſo friendly grown above the reſt
Of brutal kind, that daily are in ſight:
Say, for ſuch wonder clames attention due.
To whom the guileful Tempter thus reply'd.
Empreſs of this fair world, reſplendent Eve,
Eaſy to me it is to tell thee all [obey'd:
What thou command'ſt, and right thou ſhouldſt be
I was at firſt as other beaſts that graze

The

556.——*whom God on their creation-day Created mute*] This is mere fillings, ſays Dr. Bentley; for when could they be created, but on their creation-day? But this is exactly in the ſtile of Scripture, Gen. II. 4. *Theſe are the generations of the Heavens and of the Earth when they were created; in the day that the Lord God made the Earth and the Heavens.*

563. *How cam'ſt thou ſpeakable of mute,*] The word *ſpeakable* is uſed in an active as well as in a paſſive ſenſe, and may ſignify *what can ſpeak* as well as *what can be ſpoken*. Here it is to be underſtood in the former ſenſe, *ſpeakable* or able to ſpeak, as *comfortable, delectable, paſſable* &c. ſignify *able to comfort, to delight, to paſs* &c. And there are inſtances of ſuch words uſed ſometimes actively and ſometimes paſſively in the beſt authors. Thus in Horace the word *illacrymabilis* is uſed in its paſſive ſignification. Od. IV. IX. 26.

—ſed

The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
As was my food; nor ought but food diſcern'd
Or ſex, and apprehended nothing high:
Till on a day roving the field, I chanc'd
A goodly tree far diſtant to behold
Loaden with fruit of faireſt colors mix'd,
Ruddy and gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
When from the boughs a ſavory odor blown,
Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my ſenſe
Than ſmell of ſweeteſt fenel, or the teats
Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,
Unſuck'd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
To ſatisfy the ſharp deſire I had
Of taſting thoſe fair apples, I reſolv'd
Not to defer; hunger and thirſt at once,
Pow'rful perſuaders, quicken'd at the ſent

Of

——ſed omnes *illacrymabiles*
Urgentur; ——

and in its active ſignification, Od. II. XIV. 6.

——places *illacrymabilem*
Plutona tauris.

581.—*ſweeteſt fenel, or the teats*] He mentions ſuch things as were reputed moſt agreeable to ſerpents. Feniculum anguibus gratiſſimum, ſays Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 19. C. 9. Sect. 56. They were likewiſe ſuppoſed to ſuck the teats of ewes and goats.

585.—*thoſe fair apples,*] There is no knowing for certain what the forbidden fruit was. The common notion is that it was a ſort of apple, and that is ſufficient to juſtify a poet. So Otway,

——and for an *apple* damn'd mankind.

601.—*ſhape*

Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me ſo keen.
About the moſſy trunk I wound me ſoon,
For high from ground the branches would require
Thy utmoſt reach or Adam's: Round the tree
All other beaſts that ſaw, with like deſire
Longing and envying ſtood, but could not reach.
Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
Tempting ſo nigh, to pluck and eat my fill
I ſpar'd not, for ſuch pleaſure till that hour
At feed or fountain never had I found.
Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
Strange alteration in me, to degree
Of reaſon in my inward pow'rs, and ſpeech
Wanted not long, though to this ſhape retain'd.
Thenceforth to ſpeculations high or deep

I

601.——*ſhape retain'd.*] Bentley would have it *reſtrain'd*. But the word of exacteſt propriety is *retain'd*. For *retain'd* ſignifies the being kept within ſuch and ſuch bounds in a natural ſtate; *reſtrain'd* to be kept within them in an unnatural; but the ſerpent's being confin'd to his own ſhape, was being in his natural ſtate. *Warburton.*

605.——*or Middle,*] In the air, the element placed between, and as our author ſays *ſpun out between*, Heaven and Earth VII. 241. *Hume.*

605. —*all things fair and good;*
But all that fair and good in thy divine
Semblance, and in thy beauty's heav'nly ray
United I beheld;] This is very like what Adam had ſaid before to the Angel, VIII. 471.

——ſo lovely fair,
That what ſeem'd fair in all the world, ſeem'd now
Mean, or in her ſumm'd up, in her contain'd
And in her looks,

And

I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Conſider'd all things viſible in Heaven,
Or Earth, or Middle, all things fair and good;
But all that fair and good in thy divine
Semblance, and in thy beauty's heav'nly ray
United I beheld; no fair to thine
Equivalent or ſecond, which compell'd
Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come
And gaze, and worſhip thee of right declar'd
Sovran of creatures, univerſal Dame.
So talk'd the ſpirited ſly Snake; and Eve
Yet more amaz'd unwary thus reply'd.
Serpent, thy overpraiſing leaves in doubt
The virtue of that fruit, in thee firſt prov'd:
But ſay, where grows the tree, from hence how far?
For

And it is really wonderful, that the poet could expreſs things ſo much alike ſo differently, and yet both ſo well. The numbers too, as well as the ſentiments, are equally admirable in both places.

609. *Equivalent or ſecond,*] Nec viget quicquam ſimile aut ſecundum. Hor. Od. I. XII. 18.

612.——*univerſal Dame.*] The word *Dame* conveys a low idea at preſent: but formerly it was an appellation of reſpect and honor, and ſignified miſtreſs or lady, and was probably deriv'd from the French *dame* and the Latin *domina*. *Univerſal dame*, Domina univerſi.

613. —— *So talk'd* &c.] Milton has ſhown more art and ability in taking off the common objections to the Moſaic hiſtory of the temptation by the addition of ſome circumſtances of his own invention, than in any other theologic part of his poem. *Warburton.*

For many are the trees of God that grow
In Paradiſe, and various, yet unknown
To us, in ſuch abundance lies our choice,
As leaves a greater ſtore of fruit untouch'd,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to their proviſion, and more hands
Help to diſburden Nature of her birth.
To whom the wily Adder, blithe and glad.
Empreſs, the way is ready, and not long,
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
Faſt by a fountain, one ſmall thicket paſt
Of blowing myrrh and balm; if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither ſoon.
Lead then, ſaid Eve. He leading ſwiftly roll'd
In

618.—*trees of God*] A Scripture phraſe, as in Pſal. CIV. 16.

624.——*birth*] In Milton's own editions this word is ſpelt *bearth* in this place, but as in all other places he ſpells it *birth*, we ſee no reaſon for an alteration here, and poſſibly this may be nothing but an error of the preſs.

631.—*He leading ſwiftly roll'd*
In tangles,] This is Virgil's *rapit orbes per humum:* but I think Taſſo much exceeds them both in deſcribing the rolling of a ſerpent. Cant. 15. St. 48.

Hor rientra in ſe ſteſſo, hor le nodoſe
Rote diſtende, e ſe dopo ſe tira.
Thyer.

634.—— *as when a wand'ring fire,* &c.] I have avoided mentioning any particular ſimilitudes in my remarks on this great work, becauſe I have given a general account of them in my notes on the firſt book. There is one however, in this part of the poem, which I ſhall here quote, as it is not only very beautiful, but the cloſeſt of any in the whole poem; I mean that where

In tangles, and made intricate ſeem ſtrait,
To miſchief ſwift. Hope elevates, and joy
Brightens his creſt; as when a wand'ring fire,
Compact of unctuous vapor, which the night
Condenſes, and the cold environs round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
Which oft, they ſay, ſome evil Spi'rit attends,
Hovering and blazing with deluſive light,
Miſleads th' amazed night-wand'rer from his way
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There ſwallow'd up and loſt, from ſuccour far.
So gliſter'd the dire Snake, and into fraud
Led Eve our credulous mother, to the tree
Of prohibition, root of all our woe;
Which

where the ſerpent is deſcrib'd as rolling forward in all his pride, animated by the evil Spirit, and conducting Eve to her deſtruction, while Adam was at too great a diſtance from her to give her his aſſiſtance. Theſe ſeveral particulars are all of them wrought into the following ſimilitude.

——Hope elevates, and joy
Brightens his creſt; as when a
wand'ring fire, &c. *Addiſon.*

And there is not perhaps any more philoſophic account of the *ignis fatuus*, than what is contain'd in theſe lines. Philoſophy and poetry are here mix'd together.

643.——*and into fraud*] Fraud ſignifies hurt and damage, as well as deceit and deluſion. Virg. Æn. X. 72.

Quis Deus in *fraudem*, quæ dura potentia noſtra
Egit?

And Milton often uſes Engliſh words in the Latin ſignification.

644. ———*the tree*
Of prohibition,] An Hebraiſm for the prohibited or forbidden tree.

Which when ſhe ſaw, thus to her guide ſhe ſpake.
Serpent, we might have ſpar'd our coming hither,
Fruitleſs to me, though fruit be here to' exceſs,
The credit of whoſe virtue reſt with thee,
Wondrous indeed, if cauſe of ſuch effects.
But of this tree we may not taſte nor touch;
God ſo commanded, and left that command
Sole daughter of his voice; the reſt, we live
Law to ourſelves, our reaſon is our law.
To whom the Tempter guilefully reply'd.
Indeed? hath God then ſaid that of the fruit
Of all theſe garden trees ye ſhall not eat,
Yet Lords declar'd of all in earth or air?

To

648. *Fruitleſs to me, though fruit be here to' exceſs,*] Beſides the jingle, the ſame word is uſed in a literal and metaphorical ſenſe, as in Bion. Idyl. I. 16, 17.

Αἶσιον αἶσιον ἐλικῶ ἔχει καὶα μηρον Ἀδωνις,
Μιζον δ' α Κυθερεια φερει σοὶ καρδιον ἐλικῶ.

And not unlike is that in Virgil, Æn. VII. 295.

Num capti potuere capi?——

653. *Sole daughter of his voice;*] Another Hebraiſm. *Bath Kol, The daughter of a voice* is a noted phraſe among the Jews, and they underſtand by it a voice from Heaven; and this command is call'd the *ſole daughter*, as it is the only command that we read of, that was given to our firſt Parents in Paradiſe. Thus Adam ſays IV. 426.

——for well thou know'ſt
God hath pronounc'd it death to taſte that tree,
The *only* ſign of our obedience left, &c.
—Then let us not think hard
One eaſy prohibition.—

653. ——*the reſt, we live Law to ourſelves,*] *The reſt*, as for what remains, in all things elſe. A Greciſm, and common in Latin. So Virgil, Æn. III. 594. *cætera* Graius. *We live law to ourſelves.* Rom. II. 14.

Theſe

To whom thus Eve yet ſinleſs. Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat,
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidſt
The garden, God hath ſaid, Ye ſhall not eat
Thereof, nor ſhall ye touch it, leſt ye die.
She ſcarce had ſaid, though brief, when now more
The Tempter, but with ſhow of zeal and love
To Man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on, and as to paſſion mov'd,
Fluctuates diſturb'd, yet comely and in act
Rais'd, as of ſome great matter to begin.
As when of old ſome orator renown'd
In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
Floriſh'd,

Theſe having not the law, are a law unto themſelves. Richardſon.

656. *Indeed? hath God then ſaid that of the fruit*
Of all theſe garden trees ye ſhall not eat,] Gen. III. 1. *Yea, hath God ſaid, Ye ſhall not eat of every tree of the garden?* In which our Author has follow'd the Chaldee Paraphraſe interpreting the Hebrew particle, *Indeed.* Is it true that God has forbid you to eat of the fruits of Paradiſe? as if he had forbidden them to taſte, not of one, but of all the trees; another of Satan's ſly inſinuations. The Hebrew particle, *Yea* or *Indeed*, plainly ſhows that the ſhort and ſummary account that Moſes gives of the Serpent's temptation, has reſpect to ſome previous diſcourſe, which could in all probability be no other than what our poet has pitch'd upon. *Hume.*

659.——*Of the fruit* &c.] This is exactly the anſwer of Eve in Geneſis III. 2, 3. put into verſe. *We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midſt of the garden, God hath ſaid, Ye ſhall not eat of it, neither ſhall ye touch it, leſt ye die.* And it ſhows great art and judgment in our author, in knowing ſo well when to adhere to the words of Scripture, and when to amplify and inlarge upon them, as he does in Satan's reply to Eve.

Floriſh'd, ſince mute, to ſome great cauſe addreſs'd
Stood in himſelf collected, while each part,
Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue,
Sometimes in highth began, as no delay
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right:
So ſtanding, moving, or to highth up grown,
The Tempter all impaſſion'd thus began.
O ſacred, wiſe, and wiſdom-giving Plant,
Mother of ſcience, now I feel thy power
Within me clear, not only to diſcern
Things in their cauſes, but to trace the ways
Of

673. *Stood in himſelf collected,*] This beautiful and nervous expreſſion, which Milton has uſed in ſeveral places, was, I fancy, adopted from the Italian *in ſe raccolto*. I don't remember to have met with it in any Engliſh writer before his time. *Thyer.*

673. *Stood in himſelf collected, while each part, Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue,*] Dr. Bentley ſays that this paſſage has not Milton's character nor turn. *Motion*, he thinks, ſhould have *each* before it as well as *part* and *act:* and he aſks, What is *each part* and *each act*, before he had ſpoke a word? He therefore would have it.

Stood in himſelf collected *whole, while each*
Motion, each *air* won audience ere the tongue.

But *act* is right, and is explain'd by Milton himſelf in ver. 668. to be what an orator puts himſelf into, before he begins to ſpeak;

——in *act*
Rais'd, as of ſome great matter to begin.

But I cannot ſo eaſily anſwer the Doctor's objection to *motion's* being deſtitute of *each*; nor do I underſtand how any *part* of the orator, conſider'd by itſelf and merely as a part, could win audience. I ſuſpect therefore that an *s* in the copy was miſtaken for a comma, and that Milton gave it,

——while each *part's*
Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue.

It was the graceful *motion* of *each part* of him, and not the parts themſelves, that *won audience* and attention. If it ſhould be objected, that it is not uſual with good poets to leave the genitive caſe thus at the end

Of higheſt agents, deem'd however wiſe.
Queen of this univerſe, do not believe
Thoſe rigid threats of death: ye ſhall not die:
How ſhould you? by the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge; by the threatner? look on me,
Me who have touch'd and taſted, yet both live,
And life more perfect have attain'd than fate
Meant me, by vent'ring higher than my lot.
Shall that be ſhut to Man, which to the Beaſt
Is open? or will God incenſe his ire
For ſuch a petty treſpaſs, and not praiſe

Rather

end of a verſe, and put the nominative into the following one; I allow that, tho' it is not very uſual, yet it is ſometimes done, and Milton himſelf does it in V. 273.

——in the *ſun's*
Bright temple, *&c.* *Pearce.*

Or ſuppoſe we ſhould read with leſs alteration than Dr. Bentley propoſes,

Stood in himſelf collected whole, while each
Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue

In himſelf collected whole, a manner of expreſſion not unlike that in Horace, Sat. II. VII. 86. *in ſeipſo totus teres atque rotundus.* But Dr. Greenwood ſays, there is ſo great a beauty in the pauſe being upon *collected*, and the expreſſion, tho' good in itſelf, is render'd ſo much more nervous by it, that he ſhould be ſorry to have it weaken'd, as he thinks it would be, by inſerting *whole:* beſides the ear would be offended by the harſhneſs of *whole* and *while* coming together. So that notwithſtanding theſe objections, he prefers the common reading to any of the emendations propoſed; and would only offer this ſmall alteration,

——while each part,
Motion, *and* act——

675. *Sometimes in highth began, as no delay*
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right:] Thus Cicero in his firſt oration againſt Catiline—Quouſque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia noſtra? &c. *Thyer.*

615.——*ye ſhall not die:*] Gen. III. 4. *And the ſerpent ſaid unto the woman, Ye ſhall not ſurely die.* And it is very artfully contriv'd by our author to make the Serpent give an inſtance in himſelf.

686. *How ſhould ye? by the fruit? it gives you life*

Rather your dauntleſs virtue, whom the pain
Of death denounc'd, whatever thing death be,
Deterr'd not from achieving what might lead
To happier life, knowledge of good and evil;
Of good, how juſt? of evil, if what is evil
Be real, why not known, ſince eaſier ſhunn'd?
God therefore cannot hurt you, and be juſt;
Not juſt, not God; not fear'd then, nor obey'd:
Your fear itſelf of death removes the fear.
Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,
His worſhippers; he knows that in the day
Ye eat thereof, your eyes that ſeem ſo clear,
Yet are but dim, ſhall perfectly be then
Open'd and clear'd, and ye ſhall be as Gods,
Knowing both good and evil as they know.
That ye ſhall be as Gods, ſince I as Man,

In-

To knowledge; by the threatner? look on me,] So the paſſage ſhould evidently be pointed. It was printed very wrong in Milton's own editions thus:

How ſhould ye? by the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge? By the threatner, look on me.

702. *Your fear itſelf of death removes the fear.*] Juſtice is inſeparable from the very being and eſſence of God, ſo that could he be unjuſt, he would be no longer God, and then neither to be obey'd nor fear'd; ſo that the fear of death, which does imply injuſtice in God, deſtroys itſelf, becauſe God can as well ceaſe to be, as to be juſt. A Satanic ſyllogiſm. *Hume.*

705. —— *he knows that in the day* &c.] Gen. III. 5. *For God*

Internal Man, is but proportion meet;
I of brute human, ye of human Gods.
So ye ſhall die perhaps, by putting off
Human, to put on Gods; death to be wiſh'd,
Though threaten'd, which no worſe than this can bring.
And what are Gods that Man may not become
As they, participating God-like food?
The Gods are firſt, and that advantage uſe
On our belief, that all from them proceeds;
I queſtion it, for this fair earth I ſee,
Warm'd by the ſun, producing every kind,
Them nothing: if they all things, who inclos'd
Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
That whoſo eats thereof, forthwith attains
Wiſdom without their leave? and wherein lies
Th' offenſe, that Man ſhould thus attain to know?
What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
Im-

God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes ſhall be open'd; and ye ſhall be as Gods, knowing good and evil. So that where the author comments and inlarges upon Scripture, he ſtill preſerves as much as may be the very words of Scripture.

714. —— *to put on Gods*;] The Scripture expreſſion as in 1 Cor. XV. 53. *For this corruptible muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal muſt put on immortality.*

727. *What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree*
Impart againſt his will if all be his?] Dr. Bentley ſays that Milton had ſaid *Gods* in all the argument before, and therefore deſign'd here,

What

Impart againſt his will if all be his?
Or is it envy, and can envy dwell
In heav'nly breaſts? theſe, theſe and many more
Cauſes import your need of this fair fruit.
Goddeſs humane, reach then, and freely taſte.
He ended, and his words replete with guile
Into her heart too eaſy entrance won:
Fix'd on the fruit ſhe gaz'd, which to behold
Might tempt alone, and in her ears the ſound
Yet rung of his perſuaſive words, impregn'd
With reaſon, to her ſeeming, and with truth;
Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
An eager appetite, rais'd by the ſmell
So ſavory of that fruit, which with deſire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taſte,
Solicited her longing eye; yet firſt
Pauſing a while, thus to herſelf ſhe mus'd.

Great

What can your knowledge hurt *them*, or this tree
Impart againſt *their* will, if all be *theirs?*

But Milton had ſaid *God* in ver. 692. and 700: and I think he uſes the ſingular number in the very next preceding ſentence, ver. 722.

——*who* inclos'd

Knowledge of good and evil in this tree?

So that *him* and *his* here refer to him, *who inclos'd* &c. *Pearce.*
He ſeems to uſe both numbers promiſcuouſly, ſometimes ſpeaking of *God*, ſometimes of *Gods*; and I think we may obſerve that he generally ſpeaks of *Gods*, when the ſentiment would be too horrid, if it was ſpoken of *God*.

729.—*can*

Great are thy virtues, doubtleſs, beſt of fruits,
Though kept from man, and worthy to be admir'd,
Whoſe taſte, too long forborn, at firſt aſſay
Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
The tongue not made for ſpeech to ſpeak thy praiſe:
Thy praiſe he alſo who forbids thy uſe,
Conceals not from us, naming thee the tree
Of knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;
Forbids us then to taſte, but his forbidding
Commends thee more, while it infers the good
By thee communicated, and our want:
For good unknown, ſure is not had, or had
And yet unknown, is as not had at all.
In plain then, what forbids he but to know,
Forbids us good, forbids us to be wiſe?
Such prohibitions bind not. But if death
Binds

729. ——*can envy dwell*
In heav'nly breaſts?] Like that in Virgil, Æn. I. 11.

Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?

739. *Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd*
An eager appetite,] This is a circumſtance beautifully added by our author to the Scripture account, in order to make the folly and impiety of Eve appear leſs extravagant and monſtrous.

750.—*he alſo who forbids*] As if it had not been God who had forbidden; but God was not now in all her thoughts. She afterwards profeſſes herſelf ignorant of him, ver. 775.

777 *Fair*

Binds us with after-bands, what profits then
Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we ſhall die.
How dies the Serpent? he hath eat'n and lives,
And knows, and ſpeaks, and reaſons, and diſcerns,
Irrational till then. For us alone
Was death invented? or to us deny'd
This intellectual food, for beaſts reſerv'd?
For beaſts it ſeems: yet that one beaſt which firſt
Hath taſted, envies not, but brings with joy
The good befall'n him, author unſuſpect,
Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile.
What fear I then, rather what know to fear
Under this ignorance of good and evil,
Of God or death, of law or penalty?
Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
Fair to the eye, inviting to the taſte,

Of

777. *Fair to the eye, inviting to the taſte,*
Of virtue to make wiſe:] Gen. III. 6. *The woman ſaw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleaſant to the eyes, and a tree to be deſired to make one wiſe.*

792. *And knew not eating death:*] 'Tis a Greek phraſe, us'd often by the Latins too. Oppian Halieut. II. 106.

——————συδ' ενοησαν ιον Ϛπευδοντες
ολεθρον.

They knewnot haſt'ning their death. Eating the fruit which brought death was eating death as being virtually contain'd in it. *Richardſon.*

793. *And highten'd as with wine,* &c.] That ſecret intoxication of pleaſure, with all thoſe tranſient fluſhings of guilt and joy, which the

Of virtue to make wiſe: what hinders then
To reach, and feed at once both body' and mind?
So ſaying, her raſh hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, ſhe pluck'd, ſhe eat:
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her ſeat
Sighing through all her works gave ſigns of woe,
That all was loſt. Back to the thicket ſlunk
The guilty Serpent, and well might, for Eve
Intent now wholly on her taſte, nought elſe
Regarded, ſuch delight till then, as ſeem'd,
In fruit ſhe never taſted, whether true
Or fancy'd ſo, through expectation high
Of knowledge, nor was God-head from her thought.
Greedily ſhe ingorg'd without reſtraint,
And knew not eating death: Satiate at length,
And highten'd as with wine, jocond and boon,
Thus to herſelf ſhe pleaſingly began.

O

the poet repreſents in our firſt parents upon their eating the forbidden fruit, to thoſe flaggings of ſpirit, damps of ſorrow, and mutual accuſations which ſucceed it, are conceiv'd with a wonderful imagination, and deſcrib'd in very natural ſentiments. *Addiſon.*

794. *Thus to herſelf* &c.] As our author had in the preceding conference betwixt our firſt parents deſcribed with the greateſt art and decency the ſubordination and inferiority of the female character in ſtrength of reaſon and underſtanding; ſo in this ſoliloquy of Eve's after taſting the forbidden fruit, one may obſerve the ſame judgment, in his varying and adapting it to the condition of her fall'n nature. Inſtead of thoſe little defects in her intellectual faculties before the fall, which

O ſovran, virtuous, precious of all trees
In Paradiſe, of operation bleſt
To ſapience, hitherto obſcur'd, infam'd,
And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
Created; but henceforth my early care,
Not without ſong, each morning, and due praiſe,
Shall tend thee, and the fertil burden eaſe
Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
Till dieted by thee I grow mature
In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know;
Though others envy what they cannot give;
For

which were ſufficiently compenſated by her outward charms, and were rather ſoftnings than blemiſhes in her character, we ſee her now running into the greateſt abſurdities, aud indulging the wildeſt imaginations. It has been remark'd that our poet in this work ſeems to court the favor of his female readers very much, yet I cannot help thinking, but that in this place he intended a ſatirical as well as a moral hint to the ladies, in making one of Eve's firſt thoughts after her fatal lapſe to be, how to get the ſuperiority and maſt'ry over her huſband. There is, however, I think, a defect in this ſpeech of Eve's, that there is no notice taken of the Serpent in it. Our author very naturally repreſents her in the firſt tranſports of delight expreſſing her gratitude to the fruit, which ſhe fancied had wrought ſuch a happy change in her, and next to *experience her beſt guide:* but how is it poſſible that ſhe ſhould in theſe rapturous acknowledgments forget her guide and inſtructor the Serpent, to whom in her then notion of things ſhe muſt think herſelf the moſt indebted? I don't doubt but Milton was ſenſible of this, but had he made Eve mention the Serpent, he could not have avoided too making her obſerve that he was ſlunk away, which might have given her ſome ſuſpicions, and would conſequently have much alter'd the ſcene which follows betwixt Adam and her.

Thyer.

795. —— *precious of all trees*] The poſitive for the ſuperlative; the moſt precious of all trees; as Virg. Æn. IV. 576. *Sequimur te Sancte Deorum*, and Hom. Iliad. V. 381. Δια θεαων, &c. *Richardſon.*

799.—*but henceforth my early care,*
Not

For had the gift been theirs, it had not here
Thus grown. Experience, next to thee I owe,
Beſt guide; not following thee I had remain'd
In ignorance; thou open'ſt wiſdom's way,
And giv'ſt acceſs, though ſecret ſhe retire.
And I perhaps am ſecret; Heav'n is high,
High, and remote to ſee from thence diſtinct
Each thing on earth; and other care perhaps
May have diverted from continual watch
Our great forbidder, ſafe with all his ſpies
About him. But to Adam in what ſort

Shall

Not without ſong, each morning, and due praiſe,
Shall tend thee, &c.] I conceive the conſtruction to be, not *My early care and due praiſe ſhall tend thee,* but *My early care ſhall tend thee not without ſong and due praiſe*; and therefore have added a comma after *due praiſe* to make the ſenſe plainer.

805. *Though others envy what they cannot give*;] She reſolves to eat of the tree till ſhe equals the Gods in knowledge, *though others envy*; ſhe means the Gods though for decency's ſake ſhe names them not. She had ſaid before, ver. 770. that the *beaſt which firſt hath taſted envies not* &c. but *others envy*. She is now arriv'd to that pitch of impiety, that ſhe attributes *envy* to the Gods, as Satan had taught her, ver. 729. and queſtions whether this tree was their gift, as Satan had likewiſe ſuggeſted, ver. 718. &c. ſuch impreſſion had his doctrins made upon her.

811. *And I perhaps am ſecret*;] She queſtions even God's omniſcience, and flatters herſelf that ſhe is ſtill in ſecret, like other ſinners, who *ſay, The Lord ſhall not ſee, neither ſhall the God of Jacob regard it*, Pſal. XCIV. 7.

815. *Our great forbidder, ſafe with all his ſpies*
About him.] Dr. Bentley declares *ſafe* to be pure nonſenſe here, and therefore alters the verſe thus,

Our great *forbidder's eye*, with all his ſpies &c.

But *ſafe* here ſignifies as in the vulgar phraſes, *I have him ſafe*, or *he is ſafe aſleep*: where not the ſafety of the perſon ſecur'd or aſleep is meant, but the ſafety of others with reſpect to any danger from him.

This

Shall I appear? ſhall I to him make known
As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happineſs with me, or rather not,
But keep the odds of knowledge in my power
Without copartner? ſo to add what wants
In female ſex, the more to draw his love,
And render me more equal, and perhaps,
A thing not undeſirable, ſometime
Superior; for inferior who is free?
This may be well: but what if God have ſeen,
And death enſue? then I ſhall be no more,

And

This is indeed a ſenſe of the word not uſual in poetry; but common ſpeech will juſtify it ſo far, as to make the Doctor's emendation unneceſſary. *Pearce.*

818.—*and give him to partake* &c.] An ingenious perſon and great admirer of Milton ſays, that *to give to do a thing* is in his opinion one of the moſt beautiful expreſſions in all the poetical language, as in Hom. Iliad. I. 18.

Ὑμιν μεν θεοι δοιεν, ολυμπια δωματ' εχοντες,
Εκπερσαι Πριαμοιο πολιν, ευ δ' οικαδ' ικεσθαι.

Virgil was ſo ſenſible of this charming expreſſion, that he has uſed it in the three following paſſages, and I believe in one or two others in the very firſt Æneid.

ver. 65.

——tibi Divum pater atque hominum rex
Et mulcere *dedit* fluctus et tollere vento.

ver. 79.

—tu *das* epulis accumbere Divûm.

ver. 522.

O regina, novam, cui condere Jupiter urbem,
Juſtitiaque *dedit* gentes frænare ſuperbas.

I wonder he did not farther take notice of the ſame expreſſion in his favorite Milton, in this place and in I. 736.

——— and *gave* to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.

823. ——— *and perhaps,*

A

And Adam wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
A death to think. Confirm'd then I reſolve,
Adam ſhall ſhare with me in bliſs or woe:
So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
I could indure, without him live no life.
So ſaying, from the tree her ſtep ſhe turn'd,
But firſt low reverence done, as to the Power
That dwelt within, whoſe preſence had infus'd
Into the plant ſciential ſap, deriv'd
From nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while
Waiting

A thing not undeſirable, ſometime Superior; for inferior who is free?] There is a very humourous tale in Chaucer, which is alſo verſify'd by Dryden, wherein the queſtion is propos'd, what it is that women moſt affect and deſire? Some ſay wealth, ſome beauty, ſome flattery, ſome in ſhort one thing, and ſome another; but the true anſwer is ſovranty. And the thought of attaining the ſuperiority over her huſband is very artfully made one of the firſt, that Eve entertains after her eating of the forbidden fruit: but ſtill her love of Adam and jealouſy of another Eve prevail even over that; ſo juſt is the obſervation of Solomon, Cant. VIII. 6. *Love is ſtrong as death, jealouſy is cruel as the grave.*

832. *So dear I love him, that with him all deaths*
I could indure, without him live no life.] How much ſtronger and more pathetic is this than that of Horace, Od. III. IX. 24.

Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens!

835. *But firſt low reverence done, as to the Power*
That dwelt within,] Eve falling into idolatry upon the taſte of the forbidden tree, as the firſt fruit of diſobedience, is finely imagin'd.
Richardſon.

838.——*Adam the while* &c.] Andromache is thus deſcribed as amuſing herſelf, and preparing for the return of Hector, not knowing that he was already ſlain by Achilles. Hom. Iliad. XXII. 440. Αλλ' ὁγ' ἐπ' ἀμφ' ἀλοχ. &c.

Waiting deſirous her return, had wove
Of choiceſt flow'rs a garland to adorn
Her treſſes, and her rural labors crown,
As reapers oft are wont their harveſt queen.
Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, ſo long delay'd;
Yet oft his heart, divine of ſomething ill,
Miſgave him; he the faltring meaſure felt;
And forth to meet her went, the way ſhe took
That morn when firſt they parted; by the tree
Of knowledge he muſt paſs, there he her met,
Scarce from the tree returning; in her hand
A bough of faireſt fruit, that downy ſmil'd,
New gather'd, and ambroſial ſmell diffus'd.
To him ſhe haſted; in her face excuſe
Came prologue, and apology too prompt,
Which with bland words at will ſhe thus addreſs'd.

Haſt

845.—*divine of ſomething ill,*] Foreboding ſomething ill; a Latin phraſe, as in Hor. Od. III. XXVII. 10.

Imbrium divina avis imminentum:

and again De Arte poet. 218.

Utiliumque ſagax rerum, et *divina futuri*
Sortilegis non diſcrepuit ſententia Delphis.

846.—*he the faltring meaſure felt;*] He found his heart kept not true time, he felt the falſe and intermitting meaſure; the natural deſcription of our minds foreboding ill, by the unequal beatings of the heart and pulſe. *Hume.*

851. *A*

Haſt thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my ſtay?
Thee I have miſs'd, and thought it long, depriv'd
Thy preſence, agony of love till now
Not felt, nor ſhall be twice, for never more
Mean I to try, what raſh untry'd I ſought,
The pain of abſence from thy ſight. But ſtrange
Hath been the cauſe, and wonderful to hear:
This tree is not as we are told, a tree
Of danger taſted, nor to' evil unknown
Opening the way, but of divine effect
To open eyes, and make them Gods who taſte;
And hath been taſted ſuch; the ſerpent wiſe,
Or not reſtain'd as we, or not obeying,
Hath eaten of the fruit, and is become,
Not dead, as we are threaten'd, but thenceforth
Indued with human voice and human ſenſe,
Reaſoning to admiration, and with me

Per-

851. *A bough of faireſt fruit, that downy ſmil'd,*
New gather'd, and ambroſial ſmell diffus'd.] *That downy ſmil'd,* that cover'd with ſoft down look'd ſweetly.

Ipſe ego cana legum tenerâ lanugine mala. Virg. Ecl. II. 51.

and ambroſial ſmell diffus'd, Virgil's very words,

Et liquidum ambroſiæ diffudit odorem. Georg. IV. 415. *Hume.*

854. ——*apology too prompt,*] We have here follow'd Dr. Bentley's and Mr. Fenton's editions as repreſenting we conceive the true and genuin reading. In the former editions it was *apology to prompt,* which we preſume to have been an error of the preſs.

Perſuaſively hath ſo prevail'd, that I
Have alſo taſted, and have alſo found
Th' effects to correſpond, opener mine eyes,
Dim erſt, dilated ſpirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead; which for thee
Chiefly I ſought, without thee can deſpiſe.
For bliſs, as thou haſt part, to me is bliſs,
Tedious, unſhar'd with thee, and odious ſoon.
Thou therefore alſo taſte, that equal lot
May join us, equal joy, as equal love;
Leſt thou not taſting, different degree
Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
Deity for thee, when fate will not permit.
Thus Eve with count'nance blithe her ſtory told;
But in her cheek diſtemper flushing glow'd.

On

875. ——*opener mine eyes,*
Dim erſt, dilated ſpirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead;] Milton in the manner of expreſſion here ſeems pretty plainly to allude to what Thirſis in Taſſo's Aminta ſays of himſelf upon his ſeeing Phœbus and the Muſes, Act I. Sc. 2.

Sentii mè far di mé ſteſſo maggiore,
Pien di noua virtu, piena di noua
Deitade. *Thyer.*

890. *Aſtonied ſtood and blank,*
while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;]

Obſtupuere animi, geliduſque per ima cucurrit.
Oſſa tremor. Virg. Æn. II. 120.
Illi ſolvuntur frigore membra.
Æn. XII. 951. *Hume.*

892. *From his ſlack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve*
Down dropt,] The beauty of the numbers, as well as of the image here, muſt ſtrike every reader. There is the ſame kind of beauty in the placing of the words *Down dropt,*

On th' other ſide, Adam, ſoon as he heard
The fatal treſpaſs done by Eve, amaz'd,
Aſtonied ſtood and blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;
From his ſlack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
Down dropt, and all the faded roſes ſhed:
Speechleſs he ſtood and pale, till thus at length
Firſt to himſelf he inward ſilence broke.

O faireſt of creation, laſt and beſt
Of all God's works, Creature in whom excell'd
Whatever can to ſight or thought be form'd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or ſweet!
How art thou loſt, how on a ſudden loſt,
Defac'd, deflowr'd, and now to death devote?
Rather how haſt thou yielded to tranſgreſs

The

dropt, as in this paſſage of Virgil, Æn. II. 531.

Ut tandem ante oculos evaſit et ora parentum,
Concidit.

901. *Defac'd, deflowr'd, and now to death devote?*] We have before taken ſome notice of what the critics call the *allitteration*, or beginning of ſeveral words in the ſame verſe with the ſame letter. There are inſtances of this in the oldeſt and beſt writers, as in Homer, Iliad. IV. 526.

Χυλο χαμαι χολαδες——

and in Virgil, Æn. VI. 834.

Neu patriæ validas in viſcera vertite vires.

Sometimes two or more letters are repeated at the beginning of different words, as Hom. Iliad. XXI. 407.

Επλα δ' επισχε πιλιθρα πισωι——

and Virg. Æn. IV. 238.

Dixerat: ill *pa*tris magni *pare*re *para*bat
Imperio.

Erythræus and ſome critics lay great

The ſtrict forbiddance, how to violate
The ſacred fruit forbidd'n? ſome curſed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd, for with thee
Certain my reſolution is to die;
How can I live without thee, how forgo
Thy ſweet converſe and love ſo dearly join'd,
To live again in theſe wild woods forlorn?
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loſs of thee
Would

ſtreſs upon this, eſteeming it a ſingular beauty in writing, though it is probable that the Ancients fell into it by chance as often as by deſign: but the Moderns have carried it to a ridiculous degree of affectation, and Dryden particularly thought it one of the greateſt arts of verſification. As there is ſcarce any beauty in writing, or art in numbers, that is not to be found in Milton, ſo he has ſomething of this, but is more ſparing in the uſe of it than ſeveral of the modern poets. We produc'd before an inſtance of the ſingle allitteration, VII. 471.

*B*ehemoth *b*iggeſt *b*orn——

and here two or more letters are repeated, VI. 840.

O'er ſhields and *hel*ms and *hel*med
*he*ads *he* rode,

as well as in the inſtance before us

*Def*ac'd, *def*lower'd, and now to
*d*eath *d*evote.

And certainly now and then an inſtance may have a very good effect; but the continued affectation of it is below a great genius, and muſt be offenſive to the ear inſtead of pleaſing.

908. *How can I live without thee,*
how forgo
Thy ſweet converſe, and love ſo
dearly join'd,] Dr. Bentley reads *ſo dearly joy'd*, the ſame as *enjoy'd*, as in ver. 166.

Who might have liv'd and *joy'd*
immortal bliſs.

But there is no occaſion for this alteration; the paſſage may very well be underſtood without it. Mr. Richardſon underſtands it thus, Converſation more ſweeten'd and indear'd by love; if he loſt her, he could only converſe with Angels, where he ſhould want the dear addition

Would never from my heart; no no, I feel
The link of nature draw me: fleſh of fleſh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy ſtate
Mine never ſhall be parted, bliſs or woe.
So having ſaid, as one from ſad diſmay
Recomforted, and after thoughts diſturb'd
Submitting to what ſeem'd remedileſs,
Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.
Bold deed thou haſt preſum'd, adventrous Eve,
And peril great provok'd, who thus haſt dar'd,
Had

dition of love. But the ſenſe is much better as Dr. Pearce underſtands it, that is, *the ſweet converſe and love* of thee *ſo dearly join'd* to me. This is a common way of ſpeaking in Milton, and the reader may ſee more inſtances of it in IV. 129. and VIII. 423. The ſenſe of this laſt verſe is again found in ver. 970.

——link'd in love ſo dear.

910. *To live again in theſe wild woods forlorn?*] How vaſtly expreſſive are theſe words of Adam's tenderneſs and affection for Eve, as they imply that the mere imagination of loſing her had already converted the ſweets of Paradiſe into the horrors of a deſolate wilderneſs? *Thyer.*

913. ——*no no, I feel*
The link of nature draw me:] The Scripture account of Eve's formation might poſſibly ſuggeſt this thought to Milton, and yet I can't help thinking but that he might probably have in view Plato's notion of the firſt human creatures being androgynous, i. e. male and female in the ſame perſon, and that the affection now ſubſiſting betwixt the different ſexes is only a ſecret tendency or *drawing* of nature towards her firſt ſtate. *Thyer.*

920. *Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.*] He had till now been ſpeaking to himſelf; now his ſpeech turns to her, but not with violence, not with noiſe and rage, 'tis a deep conſiderate melancholy. The line cannot be pronounc'd but as it ought, ſlowly, gravely. *Richardſon.*

922.——*who thus haſt dar'd,*] So it is in the firſt edition, but in the ſecond by miſtake it is printed *hath dar'd*, and that is follow'd by ſome others.

Had it been only coveting to eye
That ſacred fruit, ſacred to abſtinence,
Much more to taſte it under ban to touch.
But paſt who can recall, or done undo?
Not God omnipotent, nor Fate; yet ſo
Perhaps thou ſhalt not die, perhaps the fact
Is not ſo hainous now, foretaſted fruit,
Profan'd firſt by the ſerpent, by him firſt
Made common and unhallow'd ere our taſte;
Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
Lives, as thou ſaidſt, and gains to live as Man
Higher degree of life, inducement ſtrong
To us, as likely taſting to attain
Proportional aſcent, which cannot be
But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-Gods.
Nor can I think that God, Creator wiſe,
Though threatning, will in earneſt ſo deſtroy
Us his prime creatures, dignify'd ſo high,
Set over all his works, which in our fall,

For

928. *Perhaps thou ſhalt not die*, &c.] How juſt a picture does Milton here give us of the natural imbecillity of the human mind, and its aptneſs to be warp'd into falſe judgments and reaſonings by paſſion and inclination! Adam had but juſt condemn'd the action of Eve in eating the forbidden fruit, and yet drawn by his fondneſs for her, immediately ſummons all the force of his reaſon to prove what ſhe had done to be right. This may probably appear a fault to ſuperficial readers, but all intelligent

For us created, needs with us muſt fail,
Dependent made; ſo God ſhall uncreate,
Be fruſtrate, do, undo, and labor loſe,
Not well conceiv'd of God, who though his power
Creation could repeat, yet would be loath
Us to aboliſh, leſt the Adverſary
Triumph and ſay; Fickle their ſtate whom God
Moſt favors; who can pleaſe him long? Me firſt
He ruin'd, now Mankind; whom will he next?
Matter of ſcorn, not to be given the Foe.
However I with thee have fix'd my lot,
Certain to undergo like doom; if death
Conſort with thee, death is to me as life;
So forcible within my heart I feel
The bond of nature draw me to my own,
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our ſtate cannot be ſever'd, we are one,
One fleſh; to loſe thee were to loſe myſelf.
So Adam, and thus Eve to him reply'd.

gent ones will, I dare ſay, look upon it as a proof of our author's exquiſite knowledge of human nature. Reaſon is but too often little better than a ſlave ready at the beck of the will to dreſs up in plauſible colors any opinions that our intereſt or reſentment have made agreeable to us. *Thyer.*

929.—*hainous*] So Milton ſpells this word, which is right and agreeable to its derivation from the French *haineux*. It is wrong to write it, as it is commonly written, *heinous*. We take

O glorious trial of exceeding love,
Illuſtrious evidence, example high!
Engaging me to emulate, but ſhort
Of thy perfection, how ſhall I attain,
Adam? from whoſe dear ſide I boaſt me ſprung,
And gladly of our union hear thee ſpeak,
One heart, one ſoul in both; whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee reſolv'd,
Rather than death or ought than death more dread
Shall ſeparate us, link'd in love ſo dear,
To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
If any be, of taſting this fair fruit,
Whoſe virtue (for of good ſtill good proceeds,
Direct, or by occaſion) hath preſented
This happy trial of thy love, which elſe
So eminently never had been known.
Were it I thought death menac'd would enſue
This my attempt, I would ſuſtain alone

The

take notice of theſe things, as inſtances of our author's exactneſs.

978.—*I would ſuſtain alone* &c.] We have follow'd the punctuation of the firſt edition, as the ſenſe requires, which is plainly this, If I thought the death that was threaten'd would be the conſequence of this my attempt, I would ſuffer the worſt alone, and not endeavour to perſuade thee, I would rather die by myſelf forſaken of thee, than oblige thee with a fact &c. *Oblige* is uſed here in the large ſenſe of the Latin word *obligo*, which ſignifies not only to bind, but to render obnoxious to guilt or puniſhment. We have in Cicero,

The worſt, and not perſuade thee, rather die
Deſerted, than oblige thee with a fact
Pernicious to thy peace, chiefly aſſur'd
Remarkably ſo late of thy ſo true,
So faithful love unequal'd; but I feel
Far otherwiſe th' event, not death, but life
Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys,
Taſte ſo divine, that what of ſweet before
Hath touch'd my ſenſe, flat ſeems to this, and harſh.
On my experience, Adam, freely taſte,
And fear of death deliver to the winds.
So ſaying, ſhe embrac'd him, and for joy
Tenderly wept, much won that he his love
Had ſo ennobled, as of choice to' incur
Divine diſpleaſure for her ſake, or death.
In recompenſe (for ſuch compliance bad
Such recompenſe beſt merits) from the bough
She gave him of that fair enticing fruit

With

Cicero, Cum populum Romanum ſcelere *obligâſſes*. Orat. pro Domo ſua 8. Sæpe etiam legum judiciorumque pœnis *obligantur*. Fin. I. 14. and in Horace Od. II. VIII. 5.

——Sed tu ſimul *obligâſti*
Perfidum votis caput,

989. *And fear of death deliver to the winds.*] *To deliver to the winds* is a ſort of proverbial expreſſion, Hor. Od. I. XXVI. 1.

——Triſtitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis

998.—nor

With liberal hand: he ſcrupled not to eat
Againſt his better knowledge, not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome with female charm.
Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a ſecond groan,
Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder, ſome ſad drops
Wept at compleating of the mortal ſin
Original; while Adam took no thought,
Eating his fill, nor Eve to iterate
Her former treſpaſs fear'd, the more to ſooth
Him with her lov'd ſociety, that now

As

998. ——*not deceiv'd,*
But fondly overcome with female charm.] According to the hiſtorical relation of Moſes, he did not plead for himſelf, that he was deceiv'd (the excuſe of Eve cheated by the Serpent) but rather enticed and perſuaded by her: *The woman whom thou gaveſt to be with me, ſhe gave me of the tree, and I did eat.* Gen. III. 12. Whence St. Paul, *Adam was not deceiv'd, but the woman being deceived was in the tranſgreſſion,* 1 Tim. II. 14. *Overcome with female charm,* which the holy page ſtiles, *Hearkening unto the voice of his wife,* Gen. III. 17.

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?
Virg. Æn. IV. 412. *Hume.*

1000. *Earth trembled from her entrails,*] When Dido in the fourth Æneid yielded to that fatal temptation which ruin'd her, Virgil tells us the Earth trembled, the Heavens were filled with flaſhes of lightning, and the nymphs howled upon the mountain tops. Milton, in the ſame poetical ſpirit, has deſcrib'd all Nature as diſturb'd upon Eve's eating the forbidden fruit, ver. 780.

So ſaying, her raſh hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, ſhe pluck'd, ſhe eat:
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her ſeat
Sighing, through all her works gave ſigns of woe,
That all was loſt.

Upon Adam's falling into the ſame guilt, the whole creation appears a ſecond time in convulſions. As all Nature ſuffer'd by the guilt of our firſt parents, theſe ſymptoms of trouble and conſternation are wonderfully imagin'd, not only as prodigies, but

As with new wine intoxicated both
They ſwim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings,
Wherewith to ſcorn the earth: but that falſe fruit
Far other operation firſt diſplay'd,
Carnal deſire inflaming; he on Eve
Began to caſt laſcivious eyes, ſhe him
As wantonly repaid; in luſt they burn:
Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.

Eve, now I ſee thou art exact of taſte,
And elegant, of ſapience no ſmall part,

Since

but as marks of her ſympathizing in the fall of Man. *Addiſon.*

It could not be expected that Adam ſhould take any more notice of this ſecond groan of Nature when he had eated of the forbidden fruit, than Eve did of the firſt after her tranſgreſſion; becauſe they are repreſented *as with new wine intoxicated both.* But I wonder that this accurate and careful writer hath not hinted ſomething at Adam's thoughts upon the firſt convulſion, when he was in a ſtate of innocence, calmneſs, and retirement. As *Nature through all her works gave ſigns of woe,* he could not but be very ſenſible of it: and if ſo, he muſt certainly be ſtartled at a phænomenon ſo ſtrange and new. This I think deſerv'd in ſome meaſure to be accounted for; and it might perhaps have been properly introduced as a reaſon for his awakening his apprehenſions, and making *his heart, divine of ſomething ill, miſgive him,* as well as *her ſo long delay'd return,* ver. 844. or it might have been clear'd up by ſome other ſuch lucky turn of thought, as our author is maſter of upon moſt occaſions. *Greenwood.*

1002. *Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder,*] It is not meant that thunder alſo lour'd, but *Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder* in the ablative caſe abſolute, *ſome ſad drops wept at completing of the mortal ſin.* It was not loud claps of thunder, but muttering thunder, melancholy and mournful. The paſſage alluded to in Virgil is this. Æn. IV. 166.

——Prima et Tellus et pronuba Juno
Dant ſignum: fulſere ignes et conſcius æther
Connubiis: ſummoque ulularunt vertice Nymphæ.

Ille

Since to each meaning ſavor we apply,
And palate call judicious; I the praiſe
Yield thee, ſo well this day thou haſt purvey'd.
Much pleaſure we have loſt, while we abſtain'd
From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
True reliſh, taſting; if ſuch pleaſure be
In things to us forbidd'n, it might be wiſh'd,
For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
But come, ſo well refreſh'd, now let us play,
As meet is, after ſuch delicious fare;
For never did thy beauty ſince the day

Ille dies primus lethi, primuſque malorum
Cauſa fuit.

Then firſt the trembling Earth the ſignal gave;
And flaſhing fires inlighten all the cave:
Hell from below, and Juno from above,
And howling Nymphs were conſcious to their love.
From this ill-omen'd hour, in time aroſe,
Debate and death, and all ſucceeding woes. Dryden.

1019. *Since to each meaning ſavor we apply,*] Since we uſe the word *ſavor* in both ſenſes, and apply it to the underſtanding as well as to the palate: as in Cicero de Fin. II. 8. Nec enim ſequitur, ut cui cor ſapiat, ei non ſapiat palatum.

1027. ——*now let us play,*

As meet is, after ſuch delicious fare;] He ſeems to allude to Exod. XXXII. 6. 1 Cor. X. 7. *And the people ſat down to eat, and to drink, and roſe up to play*; underſtanding the word *play* with ſeveral commentators, not of dancing after the ſacrifices as it ought probably to be underſtood in theſe texts, but of committing uncleanneſs, as when we ſay to *play the whore*, and as the word is often uſed in the learned languages.

1029. *For never did thy beauty* &c.] Adam's converſe with Eve after having eaten the forbidden fruit, is an exact copy of that between Jupiter and Juno in the fourteenth Iliad. Juno there approaches Jupiter with the girdle which ſhe had received from Venus; upon which he tells her, that ſhe appeared more charming and deſirable than ſhe had ever done before, even when their loves were at the higheſt. The poet afterwards

I ſaw thee firſt and wedded thee, adorn'd
With all perfections, ſo inflame my ſenſe
With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous tree.
So ſaid he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well underſtood
Of Eve, whoſe eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he ſeiz'd, and to a ſhady bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof imbowr'd,
He led her nothing loath; flow'rs were the couch,
Panſies and violets, and aſphodel,
And

wards deſcribes them as repoſing on a ſummit of mount Ida, which produced under them a bed of flowers, the lotos, the crocus, and the hyacinth; and concludes his deſcription with their falling aſleep. Let the reader compare this with the following paſſage in Milton, which begins with Adam's ſpeech to Eve. As no poet ſeems ever to have ſtudied Homer more, or to have more reſembled him in the greatneſs of genius than Milton, I think I ſhould have given a very imperfect account of his beauties, if I had not obſerved the moſt remarkable paſſages which look like parallels in theſe two great authors. I might, in the courſe of theſe criticiſms, have taken notice of many particular lines and expreſſions which are tranſlated from the Greek poet; but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious, I have purpoſely omitted them. The greater incidents, however, are not only ſet off by being ſhown in the ſame light with ſeveral of the ſame nature in Homer, but by that means may be alſo guarded againſt the cavils of the taſteleſs or ignorant. *Addiſon.*

Our author had in mind the converſation between Paris and Helen in the third Iliad, as well as that between Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida. And as Mr. Pope obſerves, it is with wonderful judgment and decency that Milton has uſed that exceptionable paſſage of the dalliance, ardor, and enjoyment of Jupiter and Juno. That which ſeems in Homer an impious fiction, becomes a moral leſſon in Milton; ſince he makes that laſcivious rage of the paſſion the immediate effect of the ſin of our firſt parents after the fall.

1034. *So ſaid he, and forbore not glance or toy* &c.] What a fine

And hyacinth, earth's freſheſt ſofteſt lap.
There they their fill of love and love's diſport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the ſeal,
The ſolace of their ſin, till dewy ſleep
Oppreſs'd them, wearied with their amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
That with exhilerating vapor bland
About their ſpi'rits had play'd, and inmoſt powers
Made err, was now exhal'd; and groſſer ſleep
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conſcious dreams
Incumber'd, now had left them; up they roſe
As from unreſt, and each the other viewing,
Soon found their eyes how open'd, and their minds
How

fine contraſt does this deſcription of the amorous follies of our firſt parents after the fall make to that lovely picture of the ſame paſſion in its ſtate of innocence in the preceding book ver. 510.

—To the nuptial bower
I led her bluſhing like the morn: all Heaven,
And happy conſtellation &c!
Thyer.

1049. ——*and groſſer ſleep*
Bred of unkindly fumes,] How unlike the ſleep mention'd V. 3.

——for his ſleep
Was aery light from pure digeſtion bred,
And temp'rate vapors bland.

The ſleep of ſin is nothing like the ſleep of innocence.

1057. ——*naked left*
To guilty ſhame; &c.] This paſſage has occaſion'd much perplexity and confuſion by its having been wrong pointed in almoſt all the editions. After *ſhame* there is no ſtop even in Milton's own editions, and there ſhould have been a ſemicolon at leaſt. And then follows *he cover'd*, for *ſhame* (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) is here made a perſon (as again in ver. 1097.) and this ſhame is *he* who *cover'd* Adam and Eve with his robe; but this *robe* of his *uncover'd* them *more*: that is, tho' they were clothed with ſhame, yet they thereby more dif-

How darken'd; innocence, that as a veil
Had ſhadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
Juſt confidence, and native righteouſneſs,
And honor from about them, naked left
To guilty ſhame; he cover'd, but his robe
Uncover'd more. So roſe the Danite ſtrong
Herculean Samſon from the harlot-lap
Of Philiſtéan Dalilah, and wak'd
Shorn of his ſtrength, They deſtitute and bare
Of all their virtue: ſilent, and in face
Confounded long they ſat, as ſtrucken mute,
Till Adam, though not leſs than Eve abaſh'd,
At length gave utterance to theſe words conſtrain'd.
O Eve, in evil hour thou didſt give ear
To

diſcover'd their nakedneſs. Milton ſpeaks in the ſame manner in Samſon Agon. 841, 842.

In vain thou ſtriv'ſt to cover ſhame with ſhame,
Or by evaſions thy crime uncover'ſt more.

In the author's ſecond edition after the words *Uncover'd more* there is a full ſtop, and a new ſentence beginning thus, *So roſe the Danite ſtrong*, &c. with the punctuation which we have follow'd; from whence it evidently appears, that this is the true conſtruction, that As Samſon wak'd ſhorn of his ſtrength, They wak'd deſtitute and bare of all their virtue: and then begins another ſentence, *ſilent, and in face confounded long they ſat.* I ſuppoſe it need not be obſerved that Samſon is called the *Danite*, as being of the tribe of *Dan*.

1067. *O Eve, in evil hour* &c.] As this whole tranſaction between Adam and Eve is manifeſtly copied from the epiſode of Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida, has many of the ſame circumſtances, and often the very words tranſlated, ſo it concludes exactly after the ſame manner in a quarrel. Adam awakes much in the ſame humor as Jupiter, and their caſes are ſomewhat parallel; they are both overcome by their fondneſs for their wives, and are ſenſible of their error too late, and then their love turns to reſentment, and they grow angry with their wives, when they

To that falſe worm, of whomſoever taught
To counterfeit Man's voice, true in our fall,
Falſe in our promis'd riſing; ſince our eyes
Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
Both good and ev'il, good loſt, and evil got,
Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
Which leaves us naked thus, of honor void,
Of innocence, of faith, of purity,
Our wonted ornaments now ſoil'd and ſtain'd,
And in our faces evident the ſigns
Of foul concupiſcence; whence evil ſtore;
Ev'n ſhame, the laſt of evils; of the firſt
Be ſure then. How ſhall I behold the face
Henceforth of God or Angel, erſt with joy
And rapture ſo' oft beheld? thoſe heav'nly ſhapes
Will dazzle now this earthly with their blaze
Inſufferably bright. O might I here

In

they ſhould rather have been angry with themſelves for their weakneſs in hearkening to them.

1068. *To that falſe worm,*] That is ſerpent. This is a general name for the reptil kind; as in VII. 476. And thus a ſerpent is called in Shakeſpear *the mortal worm*, 2 Hen. VI. Act III.

1084. *O might I here* &c. *Cover me ye Pines*, &c.] A wiſh more ardent and paſſionate than that of Virgil Georg. II. 488.

O, qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Siſtat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!

And the expreſſion of *woods impenetrable to ſtar* ſeems to be copied from Statius Thebaid. X. 85.

——nulli penetrablis aſtro
Lucus iners.

1086.—*where higheſt woods impenetrable*
To ſtar or ſun-light, ſpread their umbrage broad
And brown as evening:] Spenſer Faery

In ſolitude live ſavage, in ſome glade
Obſcur'd, where higheſt woods impenetrable
To ſtar or ſun-light, ſpread their umbrage broad
And brown as evening: Cover me ye Pines,
Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
Hide me, where I may never ſee them more.
But let us now, as in bad plight, deviſe
What beſt may for the preſent ſerve to hide
The parts of each from other, that ſeem moſt
To ſhame obnoxious, and unſeemlieſt ſeen;
Some tree, whoſe broad ſmooth leaves together ſow'd,
And girded on our loins, may cover round
Thoſe middle parts, that this new comer, ſhame,
There ſit not, and reproach us as unclean.
So counſel'd he, and both together went
Into the thickeſt wood; there ſoon they choſe

The

Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 7.

Whoſe lofty trees, yclad with ſummer's pride,
Did ſpread ſo wide, they Heaven's light did hide.
Not pearceable with pow'r of any ſtar.

It may be obſerved too, that Milton here uſes the word *brown*, as he had before done *imbrown'd* in imitation of the Italians. *Thyer.*

1092. *What beſt may for the preſent ſerve to hide*
The parts of each from other,]

Theſe lines are thus miſprinted in the ſecond edition,

What beſt may *from* the preſent ſerve to hide
The parts of each *for* other.

And as to the matter of printing, it muſt be ſaid that of Milton's two editions the firſt is in general more correct than the ſecond, tho' Mr. Richardſon and others have cried up the ſecond as the only genuin and ſtandard edition.

1100. *Into the thickeſt wood; there ſoon they choſe*

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
But ſuch as at this day to Indians known
In Malabar or Decan ſpreads her arms
Branching ſo broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd ſhade
High overarch'd, and echoing walks between;
There oft the Indian herdſman ſhunning heat
Shelters in cool, and tends his paſturing herds
At loopholes cut through thickeſt ſhade: Thoſe leaves
They gather'd, broad as Amazonian targe,
And with what ſkill they had, together ſow'd,
To gird their waſte, vain covering if to hide

Their

The fig-tree, &c.] So Homer's Ulyſſes covers his nakedneſs in the wood, Odyſſ. VI. 127.

Ὡς εἰπων θαμινων ὑπεδυσετο δῖος Οδυσσευς.
Εκ πυκινης δ' ὑλης πλοκον κλασε χειρι παχειη
Φυλλων, ὡς ρυσαιτο περι χροϊ μηδια φωτος.

Then where the grove with leaves umbrageous bends,
With forceful ſtrength a branch the hero rends;
Around his loins the verdant cincture ſpreads,
A wreathy foliage and concealing ſhades. Broome.

The ſacred text ſays, Gen. III. 7. that *they ſowed fig-leaves together*; and Milton adheres to the Scripture expreſſion, which has given occaſion to the ſneer, *What could they do for needles and thread?* But the original ſignifies no more than that they twiſted the young twigs of the fig-tree round about their waſtes, in the manner of a Roman crown, for which purpoſe the fig-tree of all others, eſpecially in thoſe eaſtern countries, was the moſt ſerviceable; becauſe it hath, as Pliny ſays, Lib. 16. cap. 26. folium maximum umbroſiſſimumque, the greateſt and moſt ſhady leaf of all others. And our author follows the beſt commentators ſuppoſing that this was the Indian fig-tree, the account of which he borrows from Pliny, Lib. 12. c. 5. as

Pliny

Their guilt and dreaded ſhame; O how unlike
To that firſt naked glory! Such of late
Columbus found th' American, ſo girt
With feather'd cincture, naked elſe and wild
Among the trees on iles and woody ſhores.
Thus fenc'd, and as they thought, their ſhame in part
Cover'd, but not at reſt or eaſe of mind,
They ſat them down to weep; nor only tears
Rain'd at their eyes, but high winds worſe within
Began to riſe, high paſſions, anger, hate,
Miſtruſt, ſuſpicion, diſcord, and ſhook ſore
Their inward ſtate of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now toſt and turbulent:

For

Pliny had done before from Theophraſtus. It was *not that kind for fruit renown'd*, and Pliny ſays that the largeneſs of the leaves hinder'd the fruit from growing; hâc causâ fructum integens, creſcere prohibet; raruſque eſt. *It branches ſo broad and long that in the ground the bended twigs take root, and daughters grow about the mother tree, a pillar'd ſhade high overarch'd:* As Pliny ſays, Ipſa ſe ſemper ſerens, vaſtis diffunditur ramis; quorum imi adeo in terram curvantur, ut annuo ſpatio infigantur, novamque ſibi propaginem faciant circa parentem —— quodam opere topiario—fornicato ambitu. *There oft the Indian herdſman ſhunning heat ſhelters in cool* &c; Intra ſeptem eam æſtivant paſtores &c. And its *leaves are broad as Amazonian targe:* Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet. Sir Walter Raleigh, upon his own knowledge, gives very much the ſame account of this Ficus Indica in his Hiſtory of the World. B. 1. C. 4. S. 2.

1103. *In Malabar or Decan*] *Malabar* is a vaſt peninſula or promontory of the Eaſt Indies, of which *Decan* is a conſiderable kingdom. *Hume.*

1115. —— *ſuch of late Columbus found th' American*, &c.] Columbus, who made the firſt diſcovery of America about the year 1492, found the Americans ſo girt about the waſte with feathers, as Adam and Eve were with fig-leaves.

For underſtanding rul'd not, and the will
Heard not her lore, both in ſubjection now
To ſenſual appetite, who from beneath
Uſurping over ſovran reaſon clam'd
Superior ſway: from thus diſtemper'd breaſt,
Adam, eſtrang'd in look and alter'd ſtile,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renew'd.

Would thou hadſt hearken'd to my words, and ſtay'd
With me, as I beſought thee, when that ſtrange
Deſire of wand'ring this unhappy morn,
I know not whence poſſeſs'd thee; we had then
Remain'd ſtill happy, not as now, deſpoil'd
Of all our good, ſham'd, naked, miſerable.
Let none henceforth ſeek needleſs cauſe to' approve
The faith they owe; when earneſtly they ſeek
Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail.

To whom ſoon mov'd with touch of blame thus Eve.

What words have paſs'd thy lips, Adam ſevere!
Imput'ſt

1140. *Let none henceforth ſeek needleſs cauſe to' approve The faith they owe;*] As Eve had done when ſhe ſaid ver. 335.

And what is faith, love, virtue, uneſſay'd, &c.

1144. *What words have paſs'd thy lips, Adam ſevere!*] In imitation of Homer, Iliad. XIV. 83.

Ατρειδη ποιον Σ επος φυγεν ερκος οδοντων; *Thyer.*

1162. To

Imput'ſt thou that to my default, or will
Of wand'ring, as thou call'ſt it, which who knows
But might as ill have happen'd thou being by,
Or to thyſelf perhaps? hadſt thou been there,
Or here th' attempt, thou couldſt not have diſcern'd
Fraud in the Serpent, ſpeaking as he ſpake;
No ground of enmity between us known,
Why he ſhould mean me ill, or ſeek to harm.
Was I to' have never parted from thy ſide?
As good have grown there ſtill a lifeleſs rib.
Being as I am, why didſt not thou the head
Command me abſolutely not to go,
Going into ſuch danger as thou ſaidſt?
Too facil then thou didſt not much gainſay,
Nay didſt permit, approve, and fair diſmiſs.
Hadſt thou been firm and fix'd in thy diſſent,
Neither had I tranſgreſs'd, nor thou with me.

To whom then firſt incens'd Adam reply'd.
Is this the love, is this the recompenſe

Of

1162. *To whom then firſt incens'd Adam reply'd.*] As Adam is now firſt angry, his ſpeech is abrupt and his ſentences broken. *Is this the love*, Dr. Bentley reads *Is this thy love, is this the recompenſe of mine to thee*, of my love to thee, which was *expreſs'd immutable when thou wert loſt?*

Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve, expreſs'd
Immutable when thou wert loſt, not I,
Who might have liv'd and joy'd immortal bliſs,
Yet willingly choſe rather death with thee?
And am I now upbraided as the cauſe
Of thy tranſgreſſing? not enough ſevere,
It ſeems, in thy reſtraint: what could I more?
I warn'd thee, I admoniſh'd thee, foretold
The danger, and the lurking enemy
That lay in wait; beyond this had been force,
And force upon free will hath here no place.
But confidence then bore thee on, ſecure
Either to meet no danger, or to find
Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
I alſo err'd in overmuch admiring
What ſeem'd in thee ſo perfect, that I thought
No evil durſt attempt thee, but I rue
That error now, which is become my crime,
And thou th' accuſer. Thus it ſhall befall
Him who to worth in women overtruſting

Lets

1170.—— *in thy reſtraint:*] This is the reading in all the firſt editions; but ſeveral of the later ones have *my reſtraint*.

1183.—— *in women overtruſting*] Dr. Bentley reads *woman*, and I ſhould rather prefer it on account of what follows, *her will, ſhe will not*

Lets her will rule; reſtraint ſhe will not brook,
And left to' herſelf, if evil thence enſue,
She firſt his weak indulgence will accuſe.
Thus they in mutual accuſation ſpent
The fruitleſs hours, but neither ſelf-condemning,
And of their vain conteſt appear'd no end.

not brook, left to herſelf &c; tho' *women* may be juſtified, ſuch a tranſition from the plural to the ſingular number being not uncommon in the beſt authors, as in Terence, Eun. II. I. 10.

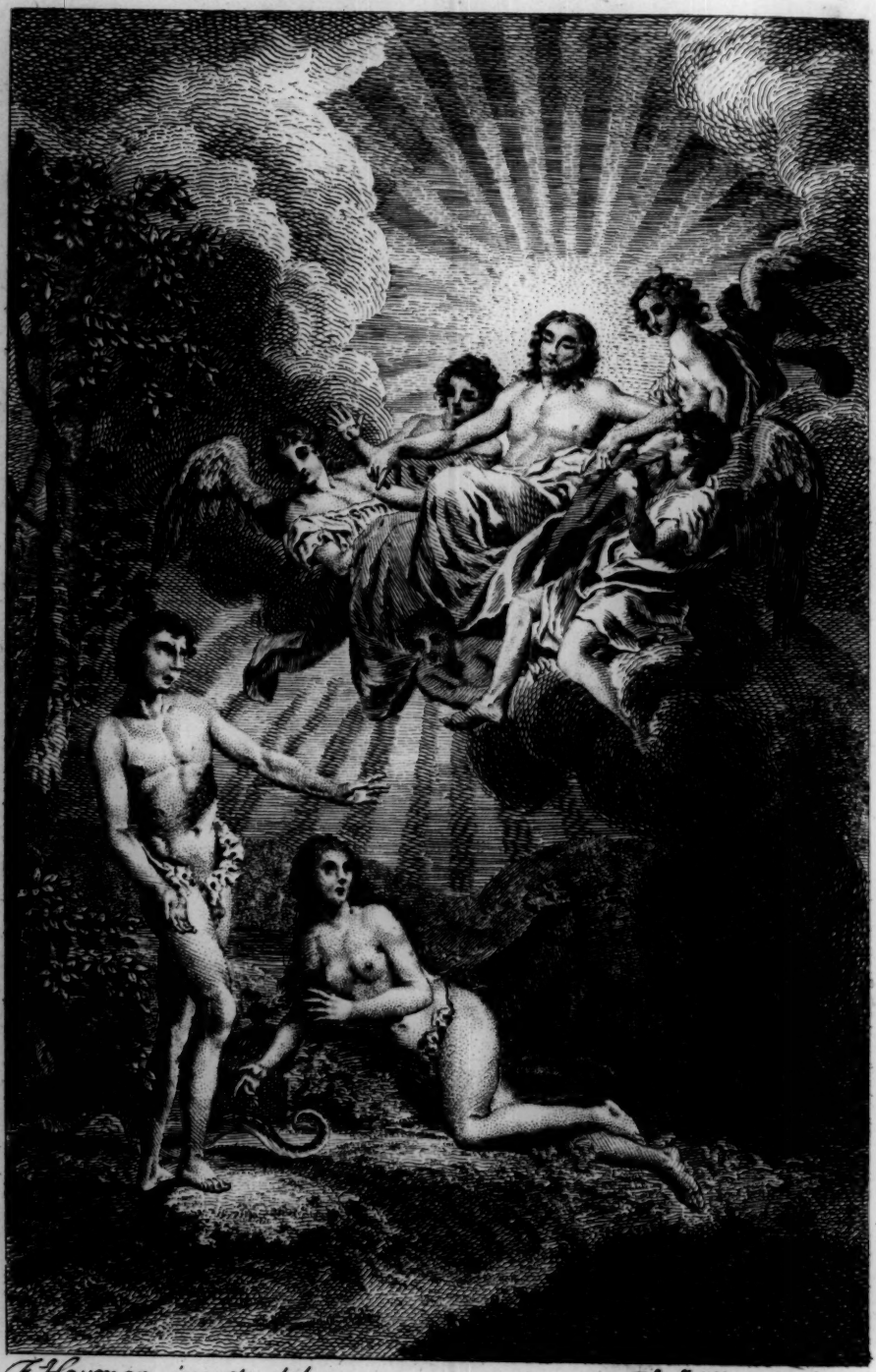
Dii boni, quid hoc morbi eſt? adeon' *homines* immutarier,
Ex amore, ut non cognoſcas *eundem* eſſe?

1185.—*if evil thence enſue*, &c.] Juvenal Sat. VI. 283.

——Nihil eſt audacius illis
Deprenſis; iram atque animos à crimine ſumunt. *Hume.*

The End of the Ninth Book.

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Book 10.

THE

TENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Man's tranſgreſſion known, the guardian Angels forſake Paradiſe, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approv'd, God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He ſends his Son to judge the tranſgreſſors, who deſcends and gives ſentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and reaſcends. Sin and Death ſitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wondrous ſympathy feeling the ſucceſs of Satan in this new world, and the ſin by Man there committed, reſolve to ſit no longer confin'd in Hell, but to follow Satan their ſire up to the place of Man: To make the way eaſier from Hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad high-way or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan firſt made; then preparing for Earth, they meet him proud of his ſucceſs returning to Hell; their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full aſſembly relates with boaſting his ſucceſs againſt Man; inſtead of applauſe is entertained with a general hiſs by all his audience, transform'd with himſelf alſo ſuddenly into ſerpents, according to his doom given in Paradiſe; then deluded with a ſhew of the forbidden tree ſpringing up before them, they greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew duſt and bitter aſhes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretels the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the preſent commands his Angels to make ſeveral alterations in the Heavens and elements. Adam more and more perceiving his fall'n condition heavily bewails, rejects the condolement of Eve; ſhe perſiſts, and at length appeaſes him: then to evade the curſe likely to fall on their ofspring, propoſes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promiſe made them, that her ſeed ſhould be reveng'd on the Serpent, and exhorts her with him to ſeek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and ſupplication.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

MEAN while the hainous and deſpiteful act
Of Satan done in Paradiſe, and how
He in the ſerpent, had perverted Eve,
Her huſband ſhe, to taſte the fatal fruit,
Was known in Heav'n; for what can 'ſcape the eye
Of God all-ſeeing, or deceive his heart
Omniſcient? who in all things wiſe and juſt,
Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
Of Man, with ſtrength entire, and free will arm'd,
Complete to have diſcover'd and repuls'd
Whatever wiles of foe or ſeeming friend.
For ſtill they knew, and ought to have ſtill remember'd
The high injunction not to taſte that fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,
Incurr'd (what could they leſs?) the penalty,
And

12. *For ſtill they knew,*] *Man* collectively (ver. 9.) is antecedent to the plural relative *they*, as Gen. I. 26. *God ſaid, Let us make Man in our image, and let them have dominion*, &c. *Heylin.*

16. *And*

And manifold in ſin, deſerv'd to fall.
Up into Heav'n from Paradiſe in haſte
Th' angelic guards aſcended, mute and ſad
For Man, for of his ſtate by this they knew,
Much wond'ring how the ſubtle Fiend had ſtol'n
Entrance unſeen. Soon as th' unwelcome news
From Earth arriv'd at Heaven gate, diſpleas'd
All were who heard; dim ſadneſs did not ſpare
That time celeſtial viſages, yet mix'd
With pity, violated not their bliſs.
About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
Th' ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befel: they tow'ards the throne ſupreme
Account-

16. *And manifold in ſin, deſerv'd to fall.*] Every ſin is complicated in ſome degree: and the Divines, eſpecially thoſe of Milton's communion, reckon up ſeveral ſins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit, namely, pride, uxorioufneſs, wicked curioſity, infidelity, diſobedience &c. ſo that for ſuch complicated guilt he *deſerv'd to fall* from his happy ſtate in Paradiſe.

17. *Up into Heav'n* &c.] The tenth book of Paradiſe Loſt has a greater variety of perſons in it than any other in the whole poem. The author upon the winding up of his action introduces all thoſe who had any concern in it, and ſhows with great beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the laſt act of a well written tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the audience, and repreſented under thoſe circumſtances in which the determination of the action places them. I ſhall therefore conſider this book under four heads, in relation to the celeſtial, the infernal, the human, and the imaginary perſons, who have their reſpective parts allotted in it. To begin with the celeſtial perſons. The guardian Angels of Paradiſe are deſcribed as returning to Heaven upon the fall of Man, in order to approve their vigilance; their arrival, their manner of reception, with the ſorrow which appear'd in themſelves, and

Accountable made haſte to make appear
With righteous plea their utmoſt vigilance,
And eaſily approv'd; when the moſt high
Eternal Father, from his ſecret cloud,
Amidſt in thunder utter'd thus his voice.

Aſſembled Angels, and ye Pow'rs return'd
From unſucceſsful charge, be not diſmay'd,
Nor troubled at theſe tidings from the earth,
Which your ſincereſt care could not prevent,
Foretold ſo lately what would come to paſs,
When firſt this tempter croſs'd the gulf from Hell.
I told you then he ſhould prevail and ſpeed
On his bad errand, Man ſhould be ſeduc'd

And

and in thoſe Spirits who are ſaid to rejoice at the converſion of a ſinner, are very finely laid together in the following lines. *Addiſon.*

23. —*dim ſadneſs did not ſpare*
That time celeſtial viſages, yet mix'd
With pity, violated not their bliſs.]
What a juſt and noble idea does our author here give us of the bleſſedneſs of a benevolent temper, and how proper at the ſame time to obviate the objection that might be made of ſadneſs dwelling in heavenly ſpirits! *Thyer.*
Here *pity* is made to prevent their ſadneſs from violating their bliſs: but the latter paſſion is ſo far from alleviating the former, that it adds weight to it. If you read (*mix'd with pity*) in a parentheſis, this croſs reaſoning will be avoided. *Warburton.*
It is plain that Milton conceiv'd ſadneſs *mix'd with pity* to be more conſiſtent with heavenly bliſs than ſadneſs without that compaſſionate temper. There is ſomething pleaſing, ſomething divine even in the melancholy of a merciful mind. And this (adds Mr. Thyer) might be farther confirm'd by the delight we take in tragical repreſentations upon the ſtage, where the pleaſure ariſes from ſympathizing with the diſtreſſes of our fellow creatures, and indulging a pitiful commiſerating temper.

40. *I told ye then &c.*] See book III. 86—96.

42.—*be-*

And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
Againſt his Maker; no decree of mine
Concurring to neceſſitate his fall,
Or touch with lighteſt moment of impulſe
His free will, to her own inclining left
In even ſcale. But fall'n he is, and now
What reſts, but that the mortal ſentence paſs
On his tranſgreſſion, death denounc'd that day?
Which he preſumes already vain and void,
Becauſe not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
By ſome immediate ſtroke; but ſoon ſhall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.
Juſtice ſhall not return as bounty ſcorn'd.
But whom ſend I to judge them? whom but thee
Vicegerent Son? to thee I have transferr'd
All

42. ——*believing lies*
Againſt his Maker;] Such as Satan had ſuggeſted, that all things did not proceed from God, that God kept the forbidden fruit from them out of envy &c.

45.—*with lighteſt moment of impulſe*] The ſame metaphor that he had uſed before in VI. 239. and we juſtified and explain'd it by Terence's *paulo momento impellitur*.

53. *Forbearance no acquittance*] Theſe proverbial expreſſions are very improper any where in an epic poem, but much more when they are made to proceed from the mouth of God himſelf.

56. — *to thee I have transfer'd All judgment*,] *For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.* John V. 22.

58. *Eaſy it may be ſeen*] We have printed it thus after the firſt edition. In the ſecond edition and others it is *Eaſy it might be ſeen*, which is not ſo well.

59. *Mercy collegue with juſtice*,] According to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Mercy and truth are met together, righte-*

All judgment, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.
Eaſy it may be ſeen that I intend
Mercy collegue with juſtice, ſending thee
Man's friend, his mediator, his deſign'd
Both ranſome and redeemer voluntary,
And deſtin'd Man himſelf to judge Man fall'n.
So ſpake the Father, and unfolding bright
Tow'ard the right hand his glory, on the Son
Blaz'd forth unclouded deity; he full
Reſplendent all his Father manifeſt
Expreſs'd, and thus divinely anſwer'd mild.
Father eternal, thine is to decree,
Mine both in Heav'n and Earth to do thy will
Supreme, that thou in me thy Son belov'd
May'ſt ever reſt well pleas'd. I go to judge

On

righteouſneſs and peace have kiſſed each other. Pſal. LXXXV. 10.

62. *And deſtin'd Man himſelf to judge Man fall'n.*] *And hath given him authority to execute judgment alſo, becauſe he is the ſon of man,* John V. 27. Dr. Bentley reads *thyſelf,* but *himſelf* is full as well or better.

68. ——*thine is to decree,*
Mine—to do thy will] Virg. Æn. I. 76.

——Tuus ô Regina quid optes
Explorare labor; mihi juſſa capeſſere fas eſt.

71.——*I go to judge* &c.] The ſame divine Perſon, who in the foregoing parts of this poem interceded for our firſt parents before their fall, overthrew the rebel Angels, and created the world, is now repreſented as deſcending to Paradiſe, and pronouncing ſentence upon the three offenders. The cool of the evening being a circumſtance with which holy Writ introduces this great ſcene, it is poetically deſcribed by our author, who has alſo kept religiouſly to the form of words, in which the three ſeveral

On earth theſe thy tranſgreſſors, but thou know'ſt,
Whoever judg'd, the worſt on me muſt light,
When time ſhall be, for ſo I undertook
Before thee'; and not repenting, this obtain
Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
On me deriv'd, yet I ſhall temper ſo
Juſtice with mercy', as may illuſtrate moſt
Them fully ſatisfy'd, and thee appeaſe.
Attendence none ſhall need, nor train, where none
Are to behold the judgment, but the judg'd,
Thoſe two; the third beſt abſent is condemn'd,
Convict by flight, and rebel to all law:
Conviction to the ſerpent none belongs.
Thus ſaying, from his radiant ſeat he roſe
Of

ſentences were paſſed upon Adam, Eve, and the Serpent. He has rather choſen to neglect the numerouſneſs of his verſe, than to deviate from thoſe ſpeeches which are recorded on this great occaſion. The guilt and confuſion of our firſt parents, ſtanding naked before their judge, is touched with great beauty. *Addiſon.*

74. —— *for ſo I undertook*] See Book III. 236. *&c.*

80. *Attendence none ſhall need,*] This is either an elliptical way of ſpeaking for *I ſhall need no attendence*; or rather the word *need*, tho' commonly uſed as a verb active, is here uſed as a verb neuter, and means *no attendence will be wanting*; and ſo it is uſed likewiſe in III. 340.

Then thou thy regal ſcepter ſhalt lay by,
For regal ſcepter then no more ſhall *need*,
God ſhall be all in all.

84. *Conviction to the ſerpent none belongs.*] No proof is needful againſt the ſerpent, compell'd by Satan to be the ignorant inſtrument of his malice againſt mankind, now

Of high collateral glory': him Thrones and Powers,
Princedoms, and Dominations miniſtrant
Accompanied to Heaven gate, from whence
Eden and all the coaſt in proſpect lay.
Down he deſcended ſtrait; the ſpeed of Gods
Time counts not, though with ſwifteſt minutes wing'd.
Now was the ſun in weſtern cadence low
From noon, and gentle airs due at their hour
To fan the earth now wak'd, and uſher in
The evening cool, when he from wrath more cool
Came the mild judge and interceſſor both
To ſentence Man: the voice of God they heard
Now walking in the garden, by ſoft winds
Brought to their ears, while day declin'd; they heard,
And

now mute and unable to anſwer for himſelf. *Hume.*

86. *Of high collateral glory:*] He uſes *collateral*, as he does moſt other words, in a ſenſe agreeable to the etymology, ſide by ſide. The Son ſat at the right hand of the Father, and riſing from thence he may properly be ſaid to riſe *from his ſeat of high collateral glory*, or as it is elſewhere expreſs'd, VI. 747. *from the right hand of glory where he ſat.* The word was uſed before in VIII. 426.

Collateral love, and deareſt amity,

that is in other words, IV. 485.

——to have thee *by my ſide*
Henceforth an individual ſolace dear.

92. *Now was the ſun in weſtern cadence low*
From noon, and gentle airs &c.] This beautiful deſcription is founded upon this verſe, Geneſis III. 8. *And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of the Lord God amongſt the trees of the garden.*

And from his preſence hid themſelves among
The thickeſt trees, both man and wife, till God
Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud.
Where art thou Adam, wont with joy to meet
My coming ſeen far off? I miſs thee here,
Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with ſolitude,
Where obvious duty' ere while appear'd unſought:
Or come I leſs conſpicuous, or what change
Abſents thee, or what chance detains? Come forth.
He came, and with him Eve, more loath, though firſt
To' offend, diſcount'nanc'd both, and diſcompos'd;
Love was not in their looks, either to God
Or to each other, but apparent guilt,
And ſhame, and perturbation, and deſpair,
Anger, and obſtinacy, and hate, and guile.
Whence Adam faltring long, thus anſwer'd brief.
I heard thee in the gard'n, and of thy voice
Afraid, being naked, hid myſelf. To whom
The

102. —*to Adam call'd aloud.*
Where art thou Adam?] Gen. III. 9. *And the Lord God called unto Adam, and ſaid unto him, Where art thou?* It is curious to obſerve how the poet paraphraſes and inlarges upon the divine hiſtorian.

116. *I heard thee in the gard'n, and of thy voice*
Afraid, being naked, hid myſelf.] Gen. III. 10. *And he ſaid, I heard thy*

The gracious judge without revile reply'd.
My voice thou oft haſt heard, and haſt not fear'd,
But ſtill rejoic'd; how is it now become
So dreadful to thee? that thou' art naked, who
Hath told thee? haſt thou eaten of the tree,
Whereof I gave thee charge thou ſhouldſt not eat?
To whom thus Adam ſore beſet reply'd.
O Heav'n! in evil ſtrait this day I ſtand
Before my judge, either to undergo
Myſelf the total crime, or to accuſe
My other ſelf, the partner of my life;
Whoſe failing, while her faith to me remains,
I ſhould conceal, and not expoſe to blame
By my complaint; but ſtrict neceſſity
Subdues me, and calamitous conſtraint,
Leſt on my head both ſin and puniſhment,
However inſupportable, be all
Devolv'd; though ſhould I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldſt eaſily detect what I conceal.

This

thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, becauſe I was naked; and I hid myſelf.

121. —*that thou' art naked, who Hath told thee? haſt thou eaten of the tree,*

Whereof I gave thee charge thou ſhouldſt not eat?] Gen. III. 11. *And he ſaid, Who told thee that thou waſt naked? haſt thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou ſhouldſt not eat?*

 137. *This*

This Woman, whom thou mad'ſt to be my help,
And gav'ſt me as thy perfect gift, ſo good,
So fit, ſo acceptable, ſo divine,
That from her hand I could ſuſpect no ill,
And what ſhe did, whatever in itſelf,
Her doing ſeem'd to juſtify the deed;
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.
To whom the ſovran Preſence thus reply'd.
Was ſhe thy God, that her thou didſt obey
Before his voice, or was ſhe made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didſt reſign thy manhood, and the place
Wherein God ſet thee' above her made of thee,
And for thee, whoſe perfection far excell'd
Hers in all real dignity? Adorn'd

She

137. *This Woman, whom thou mad'ſt to be my help,*
And gav'ſt me as thy perfect gift—
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.] Gen. III. 12. *And the Man ſaid, The woman, whom thou gaveſt to be with me, ſhe gave me of the tree, and I did eat.* We ſee that he ſtill preſerves all that is Scripture, though he intermixes other things which were likely enough to have been ſaid and done. Adam ſpeaks of Eve much in the ſame ſtrain as he had done before to the Angel VIII. 549.

—what ſhe wills to do or ſay
Seems wiſeſt &c.

And his unwillingneſs to accuſe his wife, and yet the neceſſity of his doing it, are finely imagin'd.

151. —— *Adorn'd*
She was indeed, and lovely to attract
Thy love, not thy ſubjection;] The ſame ſort of ſentiment as the Angel had inculcated VIII. 568.

—fair no doubt, and worthy well

Thy

She was indeed, and lovely to attract
Thy love, not thy ſubjection; and her gifts
Were ſuch as under government well ſeem'd,
Unſeemly to bear rule, which was thy part
And perſon, hadſt thou known thyſelf aright.
So having ſaid, he thus to Eve in few.
Say Woman, what is this which thou haſt done?
To whom ſad Eve with ſhame nigh overwhelm'd,
Confeſſing ſoon, yet not before her judge
Bold or loquacious, thus abaſh'd reply'd,
The Serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat.
Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
To judgment he proceeded on th' accus'd
Serpent though brute, unable to transfer
The guilt on him who made him inſtrument

Of

Thy cheriſhing, thy honoring, and thy love,
Not thy ſubjection.

And in other parts of his work our author ſeems to have been a ſtrenuous advocate for keeping up the authority of the huſband.

155. ——— *thy part*
And perſon,] A pure Latiniſm. The perſonæ dramatis. So Cicero pro Muren. c. 2. Has *partes* lenitatis et miſericordiæ, quas me natura ipſa docuit, ſemper ago libenter, illam verò gravitatis, ſeveritatis *perſonam* non appetivi. Milton in his Hiſtory of England, p. 37. Edit. Tol. uſes the word thus, "If it "were an honor to that *perſon* "which he ſuſtain'd." *Richardſon.*

158. *Say Woman, what is this which thou haſt done?*] Gen. III. 13. *And the Lord God ſaid unto the Woman, What is this that thou haſt done?*

162. *The Serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat.*] *And the Woman*

Of miſchief, and polluted from the end
Of his creation; juſtly then accurs'd,
As vitiated in nature: more to know
Concern'd not Man (ſince he no further knew)
Nor alter'd his offence; yet God at laſt
To Satan firſt in ſin his doom apply'd,
Though in myſterious terms, judg'd as then beſt:
And on the Serpent thus his curſe let fall.
Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art accurs'd
Above

ſaid, The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat,

169. ——*more to know*
Concern'd not Man (ſince he no further knew)] This is badly expreſs'd. The meaning is, As Man was not to be let into the myſtery of the redemption at this time, it did not concern him to know that the ſerpent was but the inſtrument of the Devil. When Milton wrote this, I fancy he had it not then in his thoughts to make Michael reveal to Adam in the laſt book the doctrin of redemption; or if he did intend it, he forgot that a theological comment on thoſe words in Geneſis would ill agree with what was to follow. *Warburton.*

175. *Becauſe thou haſt done this,* &c.] As near as may be to the very words of Scripture, Gen. III. 14, 15. *And the Lord God ſaid unto the Serpent, Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattel, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go, and duſt ſhalt thou eat all the days of thy life: And I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed: it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.* Our author was certainly here more in the right than ever in adhering religiouſly to the words of Scripture, tho' he has thereby ſpoil'd the harmony of his verſe. He thought without doubt that to mix any thing of his own would be a violation of decency, and a profanation, like that of Uzzah's putting forth his hand to the ark of God. And the ſentence is very well explain'd by him, that it was pronounc'd immediately upon the Serpent as *made the inſtrument of miſchief and vitiated in nature,* but is to be *apply'd* mediately *to Satan,* the old Serpent, *though in myſterious terms:* And as the author explains how the ſentence was to be underſtood before he relates

Above all cattel, each beaſt of the field;
Upon thy belly groveling thou ſhalt go,
And duſt ſhall eat all the days of thy life.
Between thee and the Woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her ſeed;
Her ſeed ſhall bruiſe thy head, thou bruiſe his heel.
So ſpake this oracle, then verify'd
When Jeſus Son of Mary, ſecond Eve,
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,
Prince

lates it, ſo he ſhows afterwards how it was fulfill'd.

182. —*oracle, then verify'd*
When Jeſus Son of Mary, &c.] Here is a manifeſt indication, That, when Milton wrote this paſſage, he thought *Paradiſe* was chiefly *regain'd* at our Saviour's reſurrection. This would have been a copious and ſublime ſubject for a ſecond poem. The wonders then to be deſcribed would have erected even an ordinary poet's genius; and in epiſodes he might have introduc'd his conception, birth, miracles, and all the hiſtory of his adminiſtration, while on earth. And I much grieve, that inſtead of this he ſhould chooſe for the argument of his Paradiſe Regain'd the fourth chapter of Luke, *the temptation in the wilderneſs*; a dry, barren, and narrow ground, to build an epic poem on. In that work he has amplified his ſcanty materials to a ſurprizing dignity; but yet, being cramp'd down by a wrong choice, without the expected applauſe.

Bentley.

184. *Saw Satan fall like lightning*
down from Heaven, &c.] Here are ſeveral alluſions to Scripture; as particularly to Luke X. 18. *I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven. Prince of the air*, ſo he is call'd Eph. II. 2. *the prince of the power of the air. Spoil'd Principalities and Pow'rs, triumph'd in open ſhow*, according to Col. II. 15. *And having ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a ſhow of them openly, triumphing over them in it. And with aſcenſion bright captivity led captive*, led captive thoſe who had led us captive. Pſal. LXVIII. 18. *Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led captivity captive*, applied to our Saviour by St. Paul, Eph. IV. 8. *The air, the realm of Satan*, who is therefore call'd *the prince of the power of the air*, as we quoted before. *Whom he ſhall tread at laſt*

under

Prince of the air; then riſing from his grave;
Spoil'd Principalities and Pow'rs, triumph'd
In open ſhow, and with aſcenſion bright
Captivity led captive through the air,
The realm itſelf of Satan long uſurp'd,
Whom he ſhall tread at laſt under our feet;
Ev'n he who now foretold his fatal bruiſe,
And to the Woman thus his ſentence turn'd.
Thy ſorrow I will greatly multiply
By thy conception; children thou ſhalt bring
In ſorrow forth; and to thy huſband's will
Thine ſhall ſubmit; he over thee ſhall rule.
On Adam laſt thus judgment he pronounc'd.
Becauſe thou' haſt hearken'd to the' voice of thy wife,
And eaten of the tree, concerning which
I charg'd thee, ſay'ing, Thou ſhalt not eat thereof:
Curs'd

under our feet: Rom. XVI. 20. *And the God of peace ſhall bruiſe Satan under your feet.* We ſee by theſe inſtances what uſe our Author had made of reading the Scriptures.

191. *And to the Woman thus his ſentence turn'd* &c.] Gen. III. 16. *Unto the Woman he ſaid, I will greatly multiply thy ſorrow and thy conception; in ſorrow thou ſhalt bring forth children; and thy deſire ſhall be to thy huſband; and he ſhall rule over thee.*

197. *On Adam laſt thus judgment he pronounc'd.* &c.] He is equally exact in reporting the ſentence pronounc'd upon Adam, Gen. III. 17, 18, 19. *And unto Adam he ſaid, Becauſe thou haſt hearken'd unto the voice of thy wife, and haſt eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee ſaying, Thou ſhalt not eat of it: curſed is the ground for thy ſake; in ſorrow ſhalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life: Thorns alſo and thiſtles ſhall it bring forth to thee;*

and

Curs'd is the ground for thy ſake; thou in ſorrow
Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life;
Thorns alſo' and thiſtles it ſhall bring thee forth
Unbid; and thou ſhalt eat th' herb of the field,
In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat bread,
Till thou return unto the ground; for thou
Out of the ground waſt taken, know thy birth,
For duſt thou art, and ſhalt to duſt return.
So judg'd he Man, both judge and ſaviour ſent,
And th' inſtant ſtroke of death denounc'd that day
Remov'd far off; then pitying how they ſtood
Before him naked to the air, that now
Muſt ſuffer change, diſdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of ſervant to aſſume,
As when he waſh'd his ſervants feet, ſo now
As father of his family he clad

Their

and thou ſhalt eat the herb of the field: In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground, for out of it waſt thou taken; for duſt thou art, and unto duſt ſhalt thou return. We quote theſe paſſages at length, that without any trouble they may be compar'd with the poem.

214. ——*the form of ſervant to aſſume*, &c.] Alluding to Phil. II. 7. *But made of himſelf no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant. As when he waſh'd his ſervants feet*, John XIII.

216. ——*he clad*
Their nakedneſs with ſkins of beaſts,] Gen. III. 21. *Unto Adam alſo, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of ſkins, and clothed them.* And our author, we ſee, underſtands it litterally, though it is ſufficient if it was done by the divine providence and direction. But ſome commentators torment themſelves and the text by aſking how Adam and Eve came

Their nakedneſs with ſkins of beaſts, or ſlain,
Or as the ſnake with youthful coat repaid;
And thought not much to clothe his enemies:
Nor he their outward only with the ſkins
Of beaſts, but inward nakedneſs, much more
Opprobrious, with his robe of righteouſneſs,
Arraying cover'd from his Father's ſight.

To

came by the ſkins of beaſts; and therefore our author adds they were *either ſlain*, but he does not ſay whether by one another, or for ſacrifice, or for food; *or they ſhed their coats like ſnakes, and were repaid with new ones*, a notion which we may preſume he borrow'd from ſome commentator rather than advanc'd of himſelf. It ſeems too odd and extravagant to be a fancy of his own, but he might introduce it out of vanity to ſhow his reading. Pliny indeed mentions ſome leſſer creatures ſhedding their ſkins in the manner of ſnakes, but that is hardly authority ſufficient for ſuch a notion as this.

219. *And thought not much to clothe his enemies:*] Dr. Bentley ſays that this line is certainly of the editor's manufacture, and quite ſuperfluous; becauſe it divides what is naturally connected, and changes the ſentiments, from a *family* under a gracious *father*, to the condition of *enemies*. But I don't ſee that it divides any natural connexion: and as for changing the ſentiments, it does it to a beauty, not to a fault; for it ſhows more goodneſs in a man to clothe his enemy, than only one of his family. Milton ſeems to have had in his thoughts what St. Paul ſays, Rom. V. 10. *When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son.* Milton again had much of the ſame ſentiment, when he makes Adam ſay in ver. 1059. *Cloth'd us unworthy.* Pearce.

222. ——*with his robe of righteouſneſs.*] Iſa. LXI. 10. *He hath clothed me with the garments of ſalvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteouſneſs.*

229. *Mean while ere thus was ſinn'd and judg'd on Earth,*] Two impersonals: Before Man had thus ſinn'd, and God had judged him, Sin and Death ſat in counterview within the gates of Hell; but *now* upon Man's tranſgreſſion and God's judgment Sin *thus began* and addreſs'd herſelf *to death.*

230. — *ſat Sin and Death,*] We are now to conſider the imaginary perſons, or *Sin* and *Death*, who act a large part in this book. Such beautiful extended allegories are certainly

To him with ſwift aſcent he up return'd,
Into his bliſsful boſom reaſſum'd
In glory as of old; to him appeas'd
All, though all-knowing what had paſs'd with Man
Recounted, mixing interceſſion ſweet.
Mean while ere thus was ſinn'd and judg'd on Earth,
Within the gates of Hell ſat Sin and Death,

In

certainly ſome of the fineſt compoſitions of genius: but, as I have before obſerved, are not agreeable to the nature of an heroic poem. This of *Sin* and *Death* is very exquiſite in it's kind, if not conſider'd as a part of ſuch a work. The truths contained in it are ſo clear and open, that I ſhall not loſe time in explaining them; but ſhall only obſerve, that a reader who knows the ſtrength of the Engliſh tongue, will be amazed to think how the poet could find ſuch apt words and phraſes to deſcribe the actions of thoſe two imaginary perſons, and particularly in that part where *Death* is exhibited as forming a bridge over the Chaos; a work ſuitable to the genius of Milton. Since the ſubject I am upon, gives me an opportunity of ſpeaking more at large of ſuch ſhadowy and imaginary perſons as may be introduced into heroic poems, I ſhall beg leave to explain myſelf in a matter which is curious in its kind, and which none of the critics have treated of. It is certain Homer and Virgil are full of imaginary perſons, who are very beautiful in poetry, when they are juſt ſhown, without being engaged in any ſ ries of action. Homer indeed repreſents *Sleep* as a perſon, and aſcribes a ſhort part to him in his Iliad; but we muſt conſider that tho' we now regard ſuch a perſon as entirely ſhadowy and unſubſtantial, the Heathens made ſtatues of him, placed him in their temples, and looked upon him as a real deity. When Homer makes uſe of other ſuch allegorical perſons, it is only in ſhort expreſſions, which convey an ordinary thought to the mind in the moſt pleaſing manner, and may be rather looked upon as poetical phraſes than allegorical deſcriptions. Inſtead of telling us that men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the perſons of *Flight* and *Fear*, who, he tells us, are inſeparable companions. Inſtead of ſaying that the time was come when Apollo ought to have received his recompenſe, he tells us, that the *Hours* brought him his reward. Inſtead of deſcribing the effects which Minerva's Ægis produced in battel,

he

In counterview within the gates, that now
Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
Far into Chaos, ſince the Fiend paſs'd through,
Sin opening, who thus now to Death began.

O Son, why ſit we here each other viewing
Idly, while Satan our great author thrives
In other worlds, and happier ſeat provides

For

he tells us, that the brims of it were incompaſſed by *Terror*, *Rout*, *Diſcord*, *Fury*, *Purſuit*, *Maſſacre* and *Death*. In the ſame figure of ſpeaking, he repreſents *Victory* as following Diomedes; *Diſcord* as the mother of funerals and mourning; Venus as dreſſed by the *Graces*; Bellona as wearing *Terror* and *Conſternation* like a garment. I might give ſeveral other inſtances out of Homer, as well as a great many out of Virgil. Milton has likewiſe very often made uſe of the ſame way of ſpeaking, as where he tells us that *Victory* ſat on the right hand of the Meſſiah when he marched forth againſt the rebel Angels; that at the riſing of the ſun the *Hours* unbarr'd the gates of light; that *Diſcord* was the daughter of *Sin*. Of the ſame nature are thoſe expreſſions, where deſcribing the ſinging of the nightingale, he adds, *Silence was pleas'd*; and upon the Meſſiah's bidding peace to the Chaos, *Confuſion heard his voice*. I might add innumerable inſtances of our poet's writing in this beautiful figure. It is plain that theſe I have mention'd, in which perſons of an imaginary nature are introduced, are ſuch ſhort allegories as are not deſign'd to be taken in the litteral ſenſe, but only to convey particular circumſtances to the reader after an unuſual and entertaining manner. But when ſuch perſons are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a ſeries of adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an heroic poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking that *Sin* and *Death* are as improper agents in a work of this nature, as *Strength* and *Neceſſity* in one of the tragedies of Æſchylus, who repreſented thoſe two perſons nailing down Prometheus to a rock, for which he has been juſtly cenſur'd by the greateſt critics. I do not know any imaginary perſon made uſe of in a more ſublime manner of thinking than that in one of the prophets, who deſcribing God as deſcending from Heaven, and viſiting the ſins of mankind, adds that dreadful cir-

For us his ofspring dear? It cannot be
But that ſucceſs attends him; if miſhap,
Ere this he had return'd, with fury driven
By his avengers, ſince no place like this
Can fit his puniſhment, or their revenge.
Methinks I feel new ſtrength within me riſe,
Wings growing, and dominion giv'n me large
Beyond

circumſtance, *Before him went the Peſtilence.* It is certain this imaginary perſon might have been deſcribed in all her purple ſpots. The *Fever* might have marched before her, *Pain* might have ſtood at her right hand, *Phrenzy* on her left, and *Death* in her rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the tail of a comet, or darted upon the earth in a flaſh of lightning: She might have tainted the atmoſphere with her breath; the very glaring of her eyes might have ſcatter'd infection. But I believe every reader will think, that in ſuch ſublime writings the mentioning of her as it is done in Scripture, has ſomething in it more juſt, as well as great, than all that the moſt fanciful poet could have beſtowed upon her in the richneſs of his imagination. *Addiſon.*

I have been inform'd, that there has lately been publiſhed in High Dutch a Critical Diſſertation on the marvelous in poetry, and its connexion with the probable, in a defenſe of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt againſt ſeveral objections of Monſieur Voltaire and other critics, wherein likewiſe the characters and actions of Sin and Death are vindicated in anſwer to Mr. Addiſon. It is hoped that ſome ſkilful hand or other will tranſlate this piece for the benefit of the Engliſh reader. Milton may rather be juſtified for introducing ſuch imaginary beings as Sin and Death, becauſe a great part of his poem lies in the inviſible world, and ſuch fictitious beings may better have a place there; and the actions of Sin and Death are at leaſt as probable as thoſe aſcribed to the good or evil angels. Beſides as Milton's ſubject neceſſarily admitted ſo few real perſons, he was in a manner obliged to ſupply that defect by introducing imaginary ones: and the characters of Sin and Death are perfectly agreeable to the hints and ſketches, which are given of them in Scripture. The Scripture had made perſons of them before in ſeveral places; only the Scripture has repreſented them as I may ſay in miniature, and he has drawn them in their full length and proportions.

245.—*what-*

Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on,
Or ſympathy, or ſome connatural force
Pow'rful at greateſt diſtance to unite
With ſecret amity things of like kind
By ſecreteſt conveyance. Thou my ſhade
Inſeparable muſt with me along:
For Death from Sin no pow'r can ſeparate.
But leſt the difficulty of paſſing back
Stay his return perhaps over this gulf
Impaſſable, impervious, let us try
Adventrous work, yet to thy pow'r and mine
Not unagreeable, to found a path
Over this main from Hell to that new world
Where Satan now prevails, a monument
Of merit high to all th' infernal hoſt,

Eaſing

245. —*whatever draws me on, Or ſympathy, or ſome connatural force*] The modern philoſopher may perhaps take offence at this now exploded notion, but every friend to the Muſes will, I doubt not, pardon it for the ſake of that fine ſtrain of poetry, which it has given the poet an opportunity of introducing in the following deſcription. *Thyer.*

249.—*Thou my ſhade* &c.] We ſometimes find *ſhade* uſed much after the ſame manner in the beſt Claſſic authors. Hor. Sat. II. VIII. 22.

—quos Mæcenas adduxerat *umbras.*

Epiſt. I. V. 28.

—locus eſt et pluribus *umbris.*

But it has a farther propriety and beauty in this place, as Death *ſeem'd a ſhadow*, II. 669. and was the inſeparable companion as well as offſpring of Sin. Shakeſpear in the ſame manner uſes *ſhadow* as the Latins

Easing their passage hence, for intercourse,
Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
By this new felt attraction and instinct.
Whom thus the meager Shadow answer'd soon.
Go whither fate and inclination strong
Leads thee; I shall not lag behind, nor err
The way, thou leading, such a scent I draw
Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
The savor of Death from all things there that live:
Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest
Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.
So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,
Against

Latins use *umbra*. 2 Hen. IV. Act II. Points to Prince Henry,

I am your *shadow*, my Lord, I'll follow you.

260. ——*for intercourse*
Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.] *Intercourse*, passing frequently backward and forward; *transmigration*, quitting Hell once for all to inhabit the new creation; they were uncertain which their lot should be.
Richardson.

263. *By this new felt attraction and instinct.*] He uses *instinct* here as a substantive, and in other places as a participle, in the same manner and in the same sense as the Latins use *instinctus*: but instances of his using English words as Latin words are innumerable.

226. ——*nor err*
The way.] Nor mistake the way. A remarkable expression.

273. ——*As when a flock*
Of ravenous fowl, &c.] Of Vulturs particularly it is said by Pliny, that

Againſt the day of battel, to a field,
Where armies lie encamp'd, come flying, lur'd
With ſent of living carcaſſes deſign'd
For death, the following day, in bloody fight:
So ſented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
His noſtril wide into the murky air,
Sagacious of his quarry from ſo far.
Then both from out Hell gates into the waſte
Wide anarchy of Chaos damp and dark
Flew diverſe, and with pow'r (their pow'r was great)
Hovering upon the waters, what they met
Solid

that they will fly three days beforehand to places where there are future carcaſſes. Triduo autem antea volare eos, ubi cadavera futura ſunt. Lib. 10. cap. 6. And (what probably gave occaſion to this ſimilitude in Milton) Lucan has deſcribed the ravenous birds that follow'd the Roman camps, and ſented the battel of Pharſalia. VIII. 831.

Jamque diu volucres civilia caſtra ſecutæ
Conveniunt———
———nunquam ſe tanto vulture cœlum.
Induit, aut plures preſſerunt aera pennæ.

And to this let me add, what Mr. Thyer has quoted from Aldrovandus. Quod autem aliqui addunt, tam ſagaciter odorari vultures, ut biduo triduove, imo ſeptenis, ut alii, diebus ante ea loca circumvolent, in quibus cadavara futura ſunt, ineptè ſanè ad odorandi facultatem refertur, cum eorum, quæ necdum ſunt, cadaverum nullus odor eſſe poſſit. Senſus enim præſentium eſt. Quare ad quandam augurandi vim, ſi ſic loqui poſſumus, id pertinere putandum eſt. Ridicule igitur Georgius Pictorius,

Hanc volucrem narrant luces tres noſſe cadaver
Venturum, olfactu tam viget hæc volucris.
Aldrov. Ornith. Lib. 2.

I ſhall not undertake abſolutely to defend Milton's introducing a fabulous ſtory by way of ſimile; yet I think in this place it may be pardon'd, ſince no other illuſtration could have been found ſo pat to the preſent caſe.

280. *His*

Solid or ſlimy, as in raging ſea
Toſt up and down, together crouded drove
From each ſide ſhoaling tow'ards the mouth of Hell:
As when two polar winds, blowing adverſe
Upon the Cronian ſea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that ſtop th' imagin'd way
Beyond Petſora eaſtward, to the rich
Cathaian coaſt. The aggregated ſoil
Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
As with a trident ſmote, and fix'd as firm
As Delos floting once; the reſt his look

Bound

280. *His noſtril wide into the murky air,*]

Et patulis captavit naribus auras.
Virg. Georg. I. 376.

Murky air, black tainted air. Spenſer has *mirkſome air*. Faery Queen, B. 1. C. 5. St. 28.

Through *mirkſome air* her ready way ſhe makes.

And the Gloſſary to Spenſer explains *mirkſome* by obſure, filthy. I find Shakeſpear too uſes the word *murky*. Lady Mackbeth ſays in her ſleep—*Hell is murky*, Act V.

281. *Sagacious*] Quick of ſent. Sagite enim, ſentire acute eſt; ex quo ſagaces dicti canes. Cic. de Divinat. A fit compariſon for the *chief Hell-hound*. Hume.

289. *As when two polar winds*, &c.] Sin and Death, flying into different parts of Chaos, and driving all the matter they meet with there in ſhoals towards the mouth of Hell, are compar'd to *two polar winds*, north and ſouth, *blowing adverſe upon the Cronian ſea*, the northern frozen ſea, (A Thule unius diei navigatione mare *concretum* a nonnullis *Cronium* appellatur. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 4. cap. 16.) and *driving together mountains of ice, that ſtop th' imagin'd way*, the north-eaſt paſſage as it is call'd, which ſo many have attempted to diſcover, *Beyond Petſora eaſtward*, the moſt north-eaſtern province of Muſcovy, *to the rich Cathaian coaſt*, Cathay or Catay, a country of Aſia and the northern part of China.

296. *As Delos floting once*;] An iſland in the Archipelago ſaid to have floted about the ſea, till it became the birth place of Apollo.

Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
And with Aſphaltic ſlime, broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
They faſten'd, and the mole immenſe wrought on
Over the foaming deep high arch'd, a bridge
Of

Callimachus in his hymn called Delos has given a moſt inchanting deſcription of this matter. *Richardſon.*

296.—*the reſt his look* &c.] In Milton's own editions the paſſage was thus,

——the reſt his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move,
And with Aſphaltic ſlime; broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
They faſten'd,

A difficult paſſage, which Dr. Bentley perceiv'd and try'd to mend thus,

As Delos *now*, once floting: *then* his look
The fabric with Gorgonian *pow'r faſt* bound,
As with Aſphaltic ſlime. Broad as the gate, &c.

But he did not obſerve, that Milton by the words *the reſt* meant thoſe ſubſtances which were not *ſolid* or *ſoil*, but were ſoft and *ſlimy*, ver. 286. And Death is here deſcribed as not binding faſt the fabric (the foundation of that was yet but laying) but as hardening the ſoft and *ſlimy* ſubſtances, and fixing them (like the *ſoil*) for the foundation of his bridge. To *Gorgonian rigor*, the Doctor objects that the *rigor* or hardneſs was not in the Gorgon's look, but in the object turn'd into ſtone. And ſo it may be underſtood here—a *rigor* ſuch as was caus'd by the Gorgon's look. Milton has the authority of Claudian for expreſſing himſelf thus,

—*rigidâ* cum *Gorgone* Perſeus.
In Ruffin. I. 279.

Again, the Doctor objects to *And with Aſphaltic ſlime*, becauſe then the conſtruction would be, his *look* bound it with *ſlime*. I agree with him that this could not come from Milton. But then I think the Doctor's change of *And* into *As* does not ſufficiently mend the paſſage; for does it not leſſen the thought to ſay, that it was bound with *Gorgonian pow'r* as with *ſlime?* even *Aſphaltic ſlime* had not that binding power, which fable ſuppoſes *the Gorgon's look* to have had. Thus I can ſee that neither the common reading nor the Doctor's are free from great exceptions. There is only one way (I think) in which all theſe difficulties are to be got over, and that is by changing two of the

points

Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immoveable of this now fenceleſs world
Forfeit to Death; from hence a paſſage broad,
Smooth, eaſy, inoffenſive down to Hell.
So, if great things to ſmall may be compar'd,
Xerxes,

points in the paſſage, and reading thus;

——the reſt his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move.
And with Aſphaltic ſlime, broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of Hell, the gather'd beach
They faſten'd,——

The firſt part of the paſſage, ending at *move*, I underſtand as relating only to the hardening the ſoft and ſlimy ſubſtances: and all the reſt ſeems to relate to the faſt'ning the foundation with *Aſphaltic ſlime* to the roots of Hell. I may be miſtaken in my conjecture; but this reading (methinks) bids fairer for the true one, than either of the other two. *Pearce.*

It appears that by *the reſt* we are to underſtand the *ſlimy* parts, as diſtinguiſh'd from the *ſolid* or *ſoil:* and it would be very abſurd to ſay, that his look bound the ſlimy parts *with Aſphaltic ſlime* or *as with Aſphaltic ſlime.* It is much eaſier to ſuppoſe with Mr. Richardſon that the comma after *move* and the ſemicolon after *ſlime* have chang'd places, and that the paſſage ſhould be read thus

——the reſt his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
And with Aſphaltic ſlime, broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of Hell *&c.*

The ſenſe is then the very ſame as in the foregoing moſt excellent remark of Dr. Pearce's, and we venture to print it accordingly. We generally follow carefully Milton's own punctuation; but though he was extremely accurate, yet he was not always infallible. A falſe pointing may now and then eſcape the moſt correct writer and printer in the world.

304.—*from hence a paſſage broad, Smooth, eaſy, inoffenſive down to Hell.*] Alluding perhaps to Virgil, Æn. VI. 126.

—facilis deſcenſus Averni:

Or to the paths of wickedneſs.
Heſion. Ἐργ. I. 285.

Τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἰλάδον ἐστὶν ἑλέσθαι
Ῥηϊδίως· ὁλίγη [λείη] μὲν ὁδὸς, μάλα δ' ἐγγυθὶ ναίει. Jortin.

Wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to deſtruction. Mat. VII. 13. *Greenwood.*

306. *So Xerxes* &c.] This ſimile is very exact and beautiful. As Sin

Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Suſa his Memnonian palace high
Came to the Sea, and over Helleſpont
Bridging his way, Europe with Aſia join'd,
And ſcourg'd with many a ſtroke th' indignant waves.
Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock,
Over the vex'd abyſs, following the track
Of Satan to the ſelf ſame place where he
Firſt lighted from his wing, and landed ſafe

From

and Death built a bridge over Chaos to ſubdue and inſlave mankind: *So, if great things to ſmall may be compar'd*, Si parva licet componere magnis, as Virgil ſays, Georg. IV. 176. *Xerxes*, the Perſian monarch, to bring the free ſtates of Greece under his yoke, *came from Suſa*, the chief city of Suſiana a province of Perſia, the reſidence of the Perſian monarchs, called *Memnonia* by Herodotus, of Memnon who built it and reigned there; *and over Helleſpont bridging his way*, and building a bridge over Helleſpont, the narrow ſea by Conſtantinople, that divides Europe from Aſia, to march his large army over it. *Europe with Aſia join'd, and ſcourg'd with many a ſtroke th' indignant waves*; alluding particularly to Xerxes his madneſs in ordering the ſea to be whipt for the loſs of ſome of his ſhips; *indignant waves*, ſcorning and raging to be ſo confin'd, as Virgil ſays, Pontem *indignatus* Araxes, Æn. VIII. 728. and Georg. II. 162.

Atque *indignatum* magnis ſtridoribus æquor.

Lucan has likewiſe made a ſimile of Xerxes his bridge over the Helleſpont. Pharſal. II. 672.

Tales fama canit tumidum ſuper æquora Xerxem
Conſtruxiſſe vias, multum cum pontibus auſus,
Europamque Aſiæ, Seſtonque admovit Abydo,
Inceſſitque fretum rapidi ſuper Helleſponti.

312. —— *by wondrous art Pontifical.*] By the ſtrange art of raiſing bridges. *Pontifex*, the high prieſt of the Romans, had that name from *pons* a bridge and *facere* to make: Quia ſublicius pons a Ponti-

From out of Chaos, to the outſide bare
Of this round world: with pins of adamant
And chains they made all faſt, too faſt they made
And durable; and now in little ſpace
The confines met of empyréan Heaven
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
With long reach interpos'd; three ſeveral ways
In ſight, to each of theſe three places led.
And now their way to Earth they had deſcry'd,
To Paradiſe firſt tending, when behold
Satan

Pontificibus factus eſt primum, et reſtitutus ſæpe, according to Varro. *Hume.*

Art pontifical, this is a very bad expreſſion to ſignify the art of building bridges, and yet to ſuppoſe a pun would be worſe, as if the Roman prieſthood were as ready to make the way eaſy to Hell, as Sin and Death did. *Warburton.*

317. *From out of Chaos, to the outſide bare*] In Milton's own editions the verſes are thus,

Of Satan, to the ſelf ſame place where he
Firſt lighted from his wing, and landed faſe
From out of Chaos to the outſide bare &c.

Is not here a falſe print? and is it not properer to read *landed ſafe* on *the outſide bare of this round world* than *landed ſafe* to *the outſide?* Or rather is not here another inſtance of falſe pointing? and ſhould not the comma after Satan be omitted, and inſerted after *Chaos?* and is not this the conſtruction of the whole paſſage? *Now had they brought the work—over the vex'd abyſs—to the outſide bare of this round world, following the track of Satan to the ſelf ſame place where he firſt lighted from his wing, and landed ſafe from out of Chaos.* We venture to print it accordingly, not knowing well how to make ſenſe and grammar of it otherwiſe.

322.—*on the left hand Hell*] He places Hell on the left hand according to our Saviour's deſcription of the day of judgment, *Then ſhall he ſay unto them on the left hand*, Matt. XXV. 41: or rather according to Virgil, who makes Hell to lie on the left hand, as Elyſium lay on the right, Æn. VI. 542.

Satan in likeneſs of an Angel bright
Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion ſteering
His zenith, while the ſun in Aries roſe:
Diſguis'd he came, but thoſe his children dear
Their parent ſoon diſcern'd, though in diſguiſe.
He after Eve ſeduc'd, unminded ſlunk
Into the wood faſt by, and changing ſhape
To' obſerve the ſequel, ſaw his guileful act
By Eve, though all unweeting, ſeconded
Upon her huſband, ſaw their ſhame that ſought
Vain covertures; but when he ſaw deſcend
The Son of God to judge them, terrify'd
He fled, not hoping to eſcape, but ſhun
The preſent, fearing guilty what his wrath
Might

——At læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, et ad impia tartara mittit.

328. *Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion ſteering*
His zenith, while the ſun in Aries roſe:] Alluding to a ſhip ſteering her courſe betwixt two iſlands: So Satan directed his way between theſe two ſigns of the zodiac upwards: the zenith is overhead. *Richardſon.*

Dr. Bentley puts a comma after *ſteering*; but there ſhould be none; for the ſenſe is, *ſteering* to *his zenith*, or upwards, towards the outſide of this round world, from whence he had come down, ver. 317. Beſides the Doctor inſtead of *roſe* reads *rode*: but it was *evening*, when Meſſiah came and paſs'd the ſentence on the tranſgreſſors, ver. 92. and after that *Sin* and *Death* made the bridge; ſo that the ſun might be *riſing* in Aries, when they met *Satan ſteering* his *zenith*. And this is confirm'd by what follows here in ver. 341, &c.

Pearce.

Satan to avoid being diſcover'd (as he had been before, IV. 569, &c.) by Uriel regent of the ſun, takes care to keep at as a great diſtance as poſſible, and therefore *while the ſun*

Might ſuddenly inflict; that paſt, return'd
By night, and liſt'ning where the hapleſs pair
Sat in their ſad diſcourſe, and various plaint,
Thence gather'd his own doom, which underſtood
Not inſtant, but of future time, with joy
And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd,
And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhop'd
Met who to meet him came, his ofspring dear.
Great joy was at their meeting, and at ſight
Of that ſtupendous bridge his joy increas'd.
Long he admiring ſtood, till Sin, his fair
Inchanting daughter, thus the ſilence broke.
O Parent, theſe are thy magnific deeds,
Thy

ſun roſe in Aries, he ſteers his courſe directly upwards *betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion*, two conſtellations which lay in a quite different part of the Heavens from Aries.

344. —*which underſtood*
Not inſtant, but of future time, with joy &c.] In Milton's own editions, and in all the reſt which I have ſeen till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's it was falſely printed thus,

——which underſtood
Not inſtant, but of future time.
With joy &c.

But the ſenſe evidently ſhows that the ſentence ſhould be continued: From their diſcourſe Satan *gather'd his own doom, which* being *underſtood not inſtant, but of future time, he now return'd with joy to Hell.*

345. ——*with joy*
And tidings fraught,] That is with joyful tidings. So Virgil, *Munera lætitiamque Dei*, Æn. I. 636. for *munera læta. Squamis aureque*, Æn. VIII. 436. for aureis ſquamis.
Richardſon.

348. *Of this new wondrous pontifice,*] The new bridge, the effect of *wondrous art pontifical*, ver. 312.

368. *Thou*

Thy trophies, which thou view'ſt as not thine own;
Thou art their author and prime architect:
For I no ſooner in my heart divin'd,
My heart, which by a ſecret harmony
Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion ſweet,
That thou on earth hadſt proſper'd, which thy looks
Now alſo evidence, but ſtrait I felt
Though diſtant from thee worlds between, yet felt
That I muſt after thee with this thy ſon,
Such fatal conſequence unites us three:
Hell could no longer hold us in our bounds,
Nor this unvoyageable gulf obſcure
Detain from following thy illuſtrious track.
Thou haſt achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
Within Hell gates till now, thou us impower'd
To fortify thus far, and overlay
With this portentous bridge the dark abyſs.
Thine now is all this world; thy virtue' hath won

What

368. *Thou haſt achiev'd our liberty, confin'd*
Within Hell gates till now,——
What *liberty confin'd in Hell?* a mere contradiction, ſays Dr. Bentley. He therefore reads *Us*, us confin'd till now in Hell. But *our* is the ſame as *of us:* and Milton means, the liberty of us confin'd till now in Hell. See more inſtances of this IV. 129. VIII. 423. and IX. 908. *Pearce.*

381. *His quadrature, from thy orbicular world,*] This *world* is *orbicular* or *round*; *the empyreal Heaven* is a *quadrature* or ſquare. Our author had ſaid before, Book II. 1048. that it was *undetermin'd ſquare or round*, and ſo it might be

to

What thy hands builded not, thy wiſdom gain'd
With odds what war hath loſt, and fully' aveng'd
Our foil in Heav'n; here thou ſhalt monarch reign,
There didſt not; there let him ſtill victor ſway,
As battel hath adjug'd, from this new world
Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
Of all things parted by th' empyreal bounds,
His quadrature, from thy orbicular world,
Or try thee now more dange'rous to his throne.

Whom thus the Prince of darkneſs anſwer'd glad.
Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both,
High proof ye now have giv'n to be the race
Of Satan, (for I glory in the name,
Antagoniſt of Heav'n's almighty king)
Amply have merited of me, of all
Th' infernal empire, that ſo near Heav'n's door
Triumphal with triumphal act have met,

Mine

to Satan viewing it at that diſtance: But here he follows the opinion of Gaſſendus and others, who ſay that the Empyréum or Heaven of Heavens is of a ſquare figure becauſe the holy city in the Revelation is ſo deſcrib'd, Rev. XXI. 16. *And the city lieth four-ſquare, and the length is as large as the breadth.*

383.——*the Prince of darkneſs*] Satan may well be ſo call'd, ſince his Angels are ſtiled in Scripture, *the rulers of the darkneſs of this world*, Eph. VI. 12.

386. —*for I glory in the name, Antagoniſt* &c.] The name *Satan* ſignifies *Antagoniſt* or *Adverſary*, as we obſerv'd before.

391.—*and*

Mine with this glorious work, and made one realm,
Hell and this world, one realm, one continent
Of eaſy thorough-fare. Therefore while I
Deſcend through darkneſs, on your road with eaſe,
To my aſſociate Pow'rs, them to acquaint
With theſe ſucceſſes, and with them rejoice,
You two this way, among theſe numerous orbs
All yours, right down to Paradiſe deſcend;
There dwell and reign in bliſs, thence on the earth
Dominion exerciſe and in the air,
Chiefly on Man, ſole lord of all declar'd,
Him firſt make ſure your thrall, and laſtly kill.

My

391.—*and made one realm*
Hell and this world, one realm, one continent &c.] This is the general reading; but Mr. Fenton and Dr. Bentley have both in the ſecond line very abſurdly printed *our realm*, though the Doctor places *one* in the margin, as if it were a conjecture of his own.

408.——*prevail,*] So it is in the firſt edition, in the ſecond it is *prevails.*

409. *No detriment need fear*;] Here our author plainly alludes to the charge given by the Roman ſenate to the ſupreme magiſtrate in times of danger—*providere nequid reſp. detrimenti accipiat.* Thyer.

409.——*go and be ſtrong.*] Satan encourages Sin and Death in much the ſame words as Moſes does Joſhua. Deut. XXXI. 7, 8.

412. *Spreading their bane*;] Ovid's deſcription of the journey of Envy to Athens, and Milton's of Sin and Death's to Paradiſe, have a great reſemblance. But whatever Milton imitates, he adds a greatneſs to it; as, in this place, he alters Ovid's flowers, herbs, people and cities to ſtars, planets and worlds. Ovid. Met. II. 791.

Quæcunque ingreditur, florentia porterit arva,
Exuritque herbas, et ſumma cacumina carpit;
Afflatuque ſuo populos, urbeſque domoſque
Polluit.

—where

My ſubſtitutes I ſend ye, and create
Plenipotent on earth, of matchleſs might
Iſſuing from me: on your joint vigor now
My hold of this new kingdom all depends,
Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
If your joint pow'r prevail, th' affairs of Hell
No detriment need fear; go and be ſtrong.
So ſaying he diſmiſs'd them; they with ſpeed
Their courſe through thickeſt conſtellations held,
Spreading their bane; the blaſted ſtars look'd wan,
And planets, planet-ſtruck, real eclipſe
Then ſuffer'd. Th' other way Satan went down

The

——where ſhe ſteers
Her baneful courſe, a mighty blaſt appears,
Mildews and blights; the meadows are defac'd,
The fields, the flow'rs, and the whole year's laid waſte:
On mortals next, and peopled towns ſhe falls,
And breathes a burning plague among their walls. Addiſon.

See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 42.

412.——*the blaſted ſtars look'd wan*, &c.] Much in the ſame manner Marino deſcribes his Jealouſy ſallying out into the world. Ad. Cant. 12. St. 29.

Toſto che fuor de la ſpelonca oſcura
Uſcì quel ſozzo vomito d'inferno,
Sentiro i fiori intorno, e la verdura
Fiati di peſte, et aliti d'Auerno.
Poria col ciglio inſtupidir natura,
Inhorridire il bel pianeta eterno,
Intorbidar le ſtelle, e gli elementi.

So Taſſo ſpeaking of Alecto. Gier. Lib. Cant. 9. St. 1.

Si parte, e doue paſſa i campi lieti
Secca, e pallido il ſol ſi fà repente.
Thyer.

413. *And planets, planet-ſtruck,*] We ſay of a thing when it is blaſted and wither'd, that it is *planet-ſtruck*; and that is now applied to the planets themſelves. And what a ſublime idea doth it give us of the devaſtations of Sin and Death!

417. *And*

The cauſey to Hell gate; on either ſide
Diſparted Chaos over built exclam'd,
And with rebounding ſurge the bars aſſail'd,
That ſcorn'd his indignation: through the gate,
Wide open and unguarded, Satan paſs'd,
And all about found deſolate; for thoſe
Appointed to ſit there, had left their charge.
Flown to the upper world; the reſt were all
Far to th' inland retir'd, about the walls
Of Pandemonium, city and proud ſeat
Of Lucifer, ſo by alluſion call'd
Of that bright ſtar to Satan paragon'd,
There kept their watch the legions, while the Grand
In council ſat, ſolicitous what chance

Might

417. *And with rebounding ſurge the bars aſſail'd,*
That ſcorn'd his indignation:] Virg. Georg. II. 161.

—Lucrinoque addita clauſtra,
Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus æquor.

429.—*paragon'd.*] Of *paragonner* (French) to be equal, to be like, of παρα juxta and αθων certamen. An exact idea or likeneſs of a thing, able to conteſt with the original. *Hume.*

431. *As when the Tartar* &c.] As when the Tartar retreats from his Muſcovite enemy, *over the ſnowy plains by Aſtracan*, a conſiderable part of the Czar's dominion, formerly a Tartarian kingdom, with a capital city of the ſame name, near the mouth of the river Volga, at its fall into the Caſpian ſea; *or Bactrian Sophi*, or the Perſian Emperor, named Bactrian of Bactria, one of the greateſt and richeſt provinces of Perſia, lying near the Caſpian Sea, *from the horns of Turkiſh creſcent*, from his Turkiſh enemies who bear the horned moon, the creſcent in their enſigns, *leaves all waſte beyond the realm of Aladule*, the greater Armenia, call'd by the Turks (under whom the greateſt part of it is) Aladule,

Might intercept their empe'ror ſent; ſo he
Departing gave command, and they obſerv'd.
As when the Tartar from his Ruſſian foe
By Aſtracan over the ſnowy plains
Retires, or Bactrian Sophi from the horns
Of Turkiſh creſcent, leaves all waſte beyond
The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
To Tauris or Caſbeen: So theſe the late
Heav'n-baniſh'd hoſt, left deſert utmoſt Hell
Many a dark league, reduc'd in careful watch
Round their metropolis, and now expecting
Each hour their great adventurer from the ſearch
Of foreign worlds: he through the midſt unmark'd,
In ſhow plebeian Angel militant

Of

Aladule, of its laſt king Aladules, ſlain by Selymus the firſt, *in his retreat to Tauris*, a great city in the kingdom of Perſia, now called Ecbatana, ſometime in the hands of the Turks, but in 1603 retaken by Abas king of Perſia, *or Caſbeen*, one of the greateſt cities of Perſia, in the province of Ayrach, formerly Parthia, towards the Caſpian Sea, where the Perſian monarchs made their reſidence after the loſs of Tauris, from which it is diſtant 65 German miles to the ſouth-eaſt. *Hume.*

433.—*or Bactrian Sophi from the horns.* *Of Turkiſh creſcent,*] Dr. Bentley ſays, better thus,

——or Bactrian Sophi *fled from th'* horns &c.]

But *from* is often uſed by Milton without expreſſing the participle, which yet is to be ſupplied in the ſenſe. See II. 542. VIII. 213. and IX. 396. *Pearce.*

441.—*he through the midſt unmark'd*, &c.] This acccount of Satan's paſſing unmark'd through the midſt of the Angels, and aſcending his throne inviſible, and ſeeing there about him himſelf unſeen, and then burſting forth, as from

Of loweſt order, paſs'd; and from the door
Of that Plutonian hall, inviſible
Aſcended his high throne, which under ſtate
Of richeſt texture ſpread, at th' upper end
Was plac'd in regal luſtre. Down a while
He ſat, and round about him ſaw unſeen:
At laſt as from a cloud his fulgent head
And ſhape ſtar-bright appear'd, or brighter, clad
With what permiſſive glory ſince his fall

Was

from a cloud, in glory, ſeems to be copied from a like adventure of Æneas, Virg. Æn. I. 439.

Infert ſe ſeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)
Per medios, miſcetque viris, neque cernitur ulli.—
Diſſimulant, et nube cava ſpeculantur amicti—
Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfuſa repente
Scindit ſe nubes, et in æthera purgat apertum.
Reſtitit Æneas, clarâque in luce refulſit,
Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis.

——Then entring at the gate,
Conceal'd in clouds, (prodigious to relate)
He mix'd, unmark'd, among the buſy throng,
Borne by the tide, and paſs'd unſeen along.
But doubtful of the wiſh'd event, he ſtays,
And from the hollow cloud his friends ſurveys——
Scarce had he ſpoken, when the cloud gave way,
The miſts flew upward, and diſſolv'd in day:
The Trojan chief appear'd in open ſight,
Auguſt in viſage, and ſerenely bright. Dryden.

455. *Their mighty chief return'd:*] We are in the next place to conſider the infernal agents under the view which Milton has given us of them in this book. It is obſerved by thoſe who would ſet forth the greatneſs of Virgil's plan, that he conducts his reader thro' all the parts of the earth which were diſcover'd in his time. Aſia, Afric, and Europe are the ſeveral ſcenes of his fable. The plan of Milton's poem is of an infinitely greater extent, and fills the mind with many more aſtoniſhing circumſtances. Satan, having ſurrounded the earth ſeven times, departs at length from Paradiſe. We then ſee him ſteering his courſe among the conſtellations, and after having

Was left him, or falſe glitter: All amaz'd
At that ſo ſudden blaze the Stygian throng
Bent their aſpect, and whom they wiſh'd beheld,
Their mighty chief return'd: loud was th' acclame:
Forth ruſh'd in haſte the great conſulting peers,
Rais'd from their dark Divan, and with like joy
Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand
Silence, and with theſe words attention won.
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
For

having traverſed the whole creation, purſuing his voyage thro' the Chaos, and entering into his own infernal dominions. His firſt appearance in the aſſembly of fall'n Angels, is work'd up with circumſtances which give a delightful ſurpriſe to the reader; but there is no incident in the whole poem which does this more than the transformation of the whole audience, that follows the account their leader gives them of his expedition. The gradual change of Satan himſelf is deſcribed after Ovid's manner, and may vie with any of thoſe celebrated transformations which are look'd upon as the moſt beautiful parts in that poet's works. Milton never fails of improving his own hints, and beſtowing the laſt finiſhing touches to every incident which is admitted into his poem. The unexpected hiſs which riſes in this epiſode, the dimenſions and bulk of Satan ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the infernal Spirits who lay under the ſame transformations with the annual change which they are ſuppoſed to ſuffer, are inſtances of this kind. The beauty of the diction is very remarkable in this whole epiſode, as I have obſerved before the great judgment with which it was contriv'd. *Addiſon.*

457. *Rais'd from their dark Divan,*] The Devils are frequently deſcribed by metaphors taken from the Turks. Satan is call'd the *Sultan*, I. 348. as here the council is ſtiled the *Divan*. The ſaid council is ſaid to *ſit in ſecret conclave*, I. 795. The Devil, the Turk and the Pope being commonly thought to be nearly related, and often join'd together.

460. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,*] It is common with Homer to make uſe of the ſame verſe ſeveral times, and eſpecially at the beginning of his ſpeeches; but I know not whether there is not more of ſimplicity in the practice than beauty. Our author however hath done the ſame with this line; but it is curious to

For in poſſeſſion ſuch, not only' of right,
I call ye and declare ye now, return'd
Succeſsful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal pit
Abominable, accurs'd, the houſe of woe,
And dungeon of our tyrant: now poſſeſs,
As Lords, a ſpacious world, to' our native Heaven
Little inferior, by my adventure hard
With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell
What I have done, what ſuffer'd, with what pain
Voyag'd th' unreal, vaſt, unbounded deep
Of horrible confuſion, over which

By

obſerve how artfully he has manag'd it, and by repeating it every time gives new beauty to it. It is firſt made uſe of by God the Father, when he declares his Son the Meſſiah, and appoints him Head of the Angels. Book V. 600.

Hear all the Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers, &c.

Satan, after he had revolted and drawn his legions after him into the limits of the north, makes uſe of it again in alluſion to the foregoing ſpeech of God the Father, and queſtions whether theſe magnific titles were not now become merely titular, ver. 772.

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtu , Powers,
If theſe magnific titles yet remain
Not merely titular, &c.

The Seraph Abdiel on the other ſide repeats it likewiſe after God the Father, and extols his goodneſs in having ſo named the Angels, ver. 839.

Crown'd them with glory', and to their glory nam'd
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers.

And now Satan addreſſes his Angels with it again; for now, ſays he, I may declare ye ſuch not only of right, but in poſſeſſion. So that the repetition of this line depends all along upon the firſt uſe of it, and gives a force and beauty to it, which

By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd
To expedite your glorious march; but I
Toil'd out my uncouth paſſage, forc'd to ride
Th' untractable abyſs, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild,
That jealous of their ſecrets fiercely' oppos'd
My journey ſtrange, with clamorous uproar
Proteſting Fate ſupreme; thence how I found
The new created world, which fame in Heaven
Long had foretold, a fabric wonderful
Of abſolute perfection, therein Man
Plac'd in a Paradiſe, by our exile

Made

which it would not have without the repetition.

475. *Toil'd out my uncouth paſſage,*] My ſtrange unuſual paſſage, of the Saxon *uncud* unknown, *forc'd to ride th' untractable abyſs*, as in II. 540. *and ride the air.* IX. 63. *he rode with darkneſs.* Hor. Od. IV. IV. 44. *Per Siculas equitavit undas.* We have alſo in Scripture to *ride upon the winds, to ride upon the clouds*, and the like expreſſions. But the *toil* was not only in *riding*, but riding an *untractable* abyſs.

480. *Proteſting Fate ſupreme;*] Calling upon Fate as a witneſs againſt my proceedings. But this ſeems not perfectly to agree with the account in book the ſecond. It was indeed with labor and difficulty that Satan journey'd thro' Chaos, but we do not read of Chaos and the other Powers *fiercely oppoſing him*, or *proteſting Fate with clamorous uproar.* On the contrary Chaos bids him

——go and ſpeed;
Havoc and ſpoil, and ruin are my gain.

But Satan is here extolling his own performances, and perhaps the author did not intend, that the father of lies ſhould keep ſtrictly to truth.

480.—*thence how I found*] It is very wrong in Dr. Bentley to make here the beginning of a new period. It is the ſame ſentence ſtill continued, and refers to ver. 469. *Long were to tell* &c.

484.—*by our exile*] He conſtantly places the accent upon the laſt ſyllable in *exile*, as Spenſer likewiſe does,

Made happy: Him by fraud I have ſeduc'd
From his Creator, and the more to' increaſe
Your wonder, with an apple; he thereat
Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up
Both his beloved Man and all his world,
To Sin and Death a prey, and ſo to us,
Without our hazard, labor, or alarm,
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he ſhould have rul'd.
True is, me alſo he hath judg'd, or rather
Me not, but the brute ſerpent in whoſe ſhape
Man I deceiv'd: that which to me belongs,
Is enmity, which he will put between
Me and mankind; I am to bruiſe his heel;
His ſeed, when is not ſet, ſhall bruiſe my head:

A

Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 3. St. 3.

Far from all people's praiſe, as in *exile*:

but now it is commonly pronounc'd with the accent upon the firſt ſyllable, as in Pope's Epiſtle to Arbuthnot, ver. 355.

A friend in *éxile*, or a father dead.

And there are ſeveral words whereof we have alter'd the pronunciation from that of our old writers, but whether we have alter'd it for the better, is a great queſtion.

496.—*that which to me belongs,*] Our author underſtands the ſentence (as the moſt learned and orthodox divines do) as referring partly to Satan the author of malice, and partly to the Serpent the inſtrument of it.

513.—*till ſupplanted down he fell*] We may obſerve here a ſingular beauty and elegance in Milton's language, and that is his uſing words in their ſtrict and litteral ſenſe, which are commonly applied to a metaphorical meaning, whereby he gives peculiar force to his expreſſions, and the litteral meaning appears more new

A world who would not purchaſe with a bruiſe,
Or much more grievous pain? Ye have th' account
Of my performance: What remains, ye Gods,
But up and enter now into full bliſs?
So having ſaid, a while he ſtood, expecting
Their univerſal ſhout and high applauſe
To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
On all ſides, from innumerable tongues
A diſmal univerſal hiſs, the ſound
Of public ſcorn; he wonder'd, but not long
Had leiſure, wond'ring at himſelf now more;
His viſage drawn he felt to ſharp and ſpare,
His arms clung to his ribs, his legs intwining
Each other, till ſupplanted down he fell
A monſtrous ſerpent on his belly prone,

Re-

new and ſtriking than the metaphor itſelf. We have an inſtance of this in the word *ſupplanted*, which is deriv'd from the Latin *ſupplanto*, to trip up one's heels or overthrow, a planta pedis ſubtus emota: and there are abundance of other examples in ſeveral parts of this work, but let it ſuffice to have taken notice of it here once for all.

514. *A monſtrous ſerpent on his belly prone,*] Our author, in deſcribing Satan's transformation into a ſerpent, had no doubt in mind the transformation of Cadmus in the fourth book of the Metamorphoſis, to which he had alluded before in Book IX. 905. And as ſeveral particulars are alike in both, it may be agreeable to the reader to compare both together. Ovid. Met. IV. 575. &c.

Dixit, et ut ſerpens in longam tenditur alvum;
In pectuſque cadit pronus; commiſſaque in unum
Paulatim tereti ſinuantur acumine crura——
Ille quidem vult plura loqui ſed lingua repente

Reluctant, but in vain, a greater power
Now rul'd him, puniſh'd in the ſhape he ſinn'd
According to his doom: he would have ſpoke,
But hiſs for hiſs return'd with forked tongue
To forked tongue, for now were all transform'd
Alike, to ſerpents all as acceſſories
To

In partes eſt fiſſa duas: nec verba volenti
Sufficient; quotieſque aliquos paret edere queſtus,
Sibilat; hanc illi vocem Natura relinquit.

But there is ſomething much more aſtoniſhing in Milton than in Ovid; for there only Cadmus and his wife are chang'd into ſerpents, but here myriads of Angels are transform'd all together.

524.——*Amphiſbæna dire*, &c.] *Amphiſbæna* ſaid to have a head at both ends, ſo named of αμφι and βαινω, becauſe it went forward either way. *Ceraſtes horn'd*, of κερας a horn. *Hydrus*, the water-ſnake, of ὑδωρ water. *Elops drear*, a dumb ſerpent that gives no notice by hiſſing to avoid him, *drear* ſad, dreadful. *Dipſas* of διψα thirſt, becauſe thoſe it ſtung were tormented with unquenchable thirſt.

Hume and *Richardſon*.

Theſe and ſeveral verſes which follow Dr. Bentley throws quite away. He diſlikes Milton's reckoning *Scorpion, and Aſp*, among the ſerpents, and thinks them rather inſects: But Pliny VIII. 23. numbers the *Aſp* among the ſerpents; and Nicander in his Theriac. gives both the *Scorpion* and *Aſp* that title: ſo does Lucan, from whom our poet ſeems to have taken his catalogue of ſerpents; for in Book IX. of his Pharſalia, he gives us the names of all theſe ſerpents mention'd by Milton except the *Elops*. But what is the *Elops*? Dr. Bentley ſays that the editor has here diſcover'd himſelf to be an ignorant fellow, the *Elops* being no *ſerpent* but a fiſh, and one of the moſt admir'd too, the *Acipenſer*. But Pliny (from whom the Doctor learn'd this) only ſays of the *Acipenſer*, that ſome people call it *Elops*; *quidam eum Elopem vocant*, IX. 17. he does not tell us whether he thought that they call'd it by a right name or no. But if they did, might there not have been a ſerpent of that name too? That there was we have Pliny's own teſtimony in XXXII. 5. where he tells us of the remedies to be uſed by thoſe who were bit by the *Elops* and other ſerpents, a Chalcide, Ceraſte, aut quas Sepas vocant, aut *Elope*, Dipſadéve percuſſis. Nicander too in his Theriac. mentions the *Elops*, Τὸς Ελοπας, Δίνους &c. After theſe authorities I hope that the Doctor will allow Milton to mention the

Elops,

To his bold riot: dreadful was the din
Of hiſſing through the hall, thick ſwarming now
With complicated monſters head and tail,
Scorpion, and Aſp, and Amphiſbæna dire,
Ceraſtes horn'd, Hydrus, and Elops drear,
And Dipſas (not ſo thick ſwarm'd once the ſoil
Be-

Elops, as a ſerpent, without making this an article againſt the genuineneſs of the paſſage. *Pearce.*

526. ——*the ſoil*
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon,] Lybia, which therefore abounded ſo with ſerpents, as Ovid ſays, Met. IV. 616.

Cumque ſuper Libycas victor penderet arenas,
Gorgonei capitis guttæ cecidere cruentæ;
Quas humus exceptas varios animavit in angues;
Unde frequens illa eſt infeſtaque terra colubris.

The victor Perſeus with the Gorgon head,
O'er Libyan ſands his aery journey ſped.
The gory drops diſtill'd, as ſwift he flew,
And from each drop envenom'd ſerpents grew.
The miſchiefs brooded on the barren plains,
And ſtill th' unhappy fruitfulneſs remains. Euſden.

And Lucan gives the ſame account Phar. IX. 696. and there mentions moſt of the ſerpents, which are here mention'd by Milton.

Illa tamen ſterilis tellus, fecundaque nulli
Arva bono, virus ſtillantis tabe Meduſæ
Concipiunt, diroſque fero de ſanguine rores,
Quos calor adjuvit, putrique incoxit arenæ.
Hic quæ prima caput movit de pulvere tab
Aſpida ſomniferam tumida cervice levavit: ——
——ſpinâque vagi torquente *Ceraſtæ*: ——
——et torrida *Dipſas*:
Et gravis in geminum ſurgens caput *Amphiſbæna*:
Et *Natrix* violator aquæ.

Yet could this ſoil accurs'd, this barren field,
Increaſe of death, and pois'nous harveſts yield.
Where'er ſublime in air the victor flew,
The Monſter's head diſtill'd a deadly dew;
The earth receiv'd the ſeed, and pregnant grew.
Still as the putrid gore dropt on the ſand,
'Twas temper'd up by Nature's forming hand;

Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the ile
Ophiuſa) but ſtill greateſt he the midſt,
Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the ſun
Ingender'd in the Pythian vale on ſlime,
Huge Python, and his pow'r no leſs he ſeem'd
Above the reſt ſtill to retain; they all
Him follow'd iſſuing forth to th' open field,
Where all yet left of that revolted rout
Heav'n-fall'n, in ſtation ſtood or juſt array,
Sublime with expectation when to ſee
In triumph iſſuing forth their glorious chief;
They ſaw, but other ſight inſtead, a croud
Of ugly ſerpents; horror on them fell,

And

The glowing climate makes the work compleat
And broods upon the maſs, and lends it genial heat.
Firſt of thoſe plagues the drouſy *Aſp* appear'd,
Then firſt her creſt, and ſwelling neck ſhe rear'd——
The *Swimmer* there the cryſtal ſtream pollutes;
——and there the *Dipſas* burns;
The *Amphiſbæna* doubly arm'd appears,
At either end a threatning head ſhe rears. Rowe.

528. *Ophiuſa*] A ſmall iland in the Mediterranean, ſo call'd by the Greeks, and by the Latins Colubraria; the inhabitants quitted it for fear of being devour'd by ſerpents. *Hume* and *Richardſon*.

529. *Now Dragon grown,*] In the ſame place, where Lucan gives an account of the various ſerpents of Libya, he deſcribes the *Dragon* as the greateſt and moſt terrible of them all: And our Author, who copies him in the reſt, very rightly attributes this form to Satan, and eſpecially ſince he is call'd in Scripture *the great Dragon*, Rev. XII. 9. He may well be ſaid to be larger than the fabulous *Python*, that was ingender'd of the ſlime after the Deucalion Deluge *in the Pythian vale*

And horrid ſympathy; for what they ſaw,
They felt themſelves now changing; down their arms,
Down fell both ſpear and ſhield, down they as faſt,
And the dire hiſs renew'd, and the dire form
Catch'd by contagion, like in puniſhment,
As in their crime. Thus was th' applauſe they meant,
Turn'd to exploding hiſs, triumph to ſhame
Caſt on themſelves from their own mouths. There ſtood
A grove hard by, ſprung up with this their change,
His will who reigns above, to aggravate
Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that
Which grew in Paradiſe, the bait of Eve
Uſ'd by the Tempter: on that proſpect ſtrange

Their

wale near Pythia a city of Greece. See the deſcription of this monſter, Ovid's Metamorphoſis, I. 438.

—Te quoque, maxime Python,
Tum genuit: populiſque novis, incognite ſerpens,
Terror eras: tantum ſpatii de monte tenebas.

—And then ſhe brought to light
Thee Python too, the wond'ring world to fright,
And the new nations with ſo dire a ſight.
So monſtrous was his bulk, ſo large a ſpace
Did his vaſt body and long train embrace. Dryden.

550. *Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that*] This is the verſe in the firſt edition; in the ſecond *fair* was by miſtake omitted, which left the verſe imperfect,

Their penance, laden with fruit, like that

but yet this is follow'd in ſome editions, though others have it thus,

Their penance, laden with fruit, like *to* that.

Mr. Fenton (I know not for what reaſon) has *patience* in his edition inſtead of *penance*. We have continued Milton's own reading.

560. *That*

Their earneſt eyes they fix'd, imagining
For one forbidden tree a multitude
Now ris'n, to work them further woe or ſhame;
Yet parch'd with ſcalding thirſt and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them ſent, could not abſtain,
But on they roll'd in heaps, and up the trees
Climbing, ſat thicker than the ſnaky locks
That curl'd Megæra: greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage fair to ſight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;
This more deluſive, not the touch, but taſte
Deceiv'd;

560. *That curl'd Megæra:*] She was one of the Furies, whoſe hair was ſerpents, as Meduſa's;

——crinita draconibus ora.
Ov. Met. IV. 771.
Richardſon.

562. *Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;*] The lake Aſphaltites near which Sodom and Gomorrah were ſituated. Joſephus affirms, the ſhapes and faſhions of them and three other cities, called *the cities of the plain*, were to be ſeen in his days, and trees loaden with fair fruit (ſtiled *the apples of Sodom*) riſing out of the aſhes, which at the firſt touch diſſolv'd into aſhes and ſmoke. B. 4. of the Wars of the Jews, c. 8. But this fair fruitage was more deceitful and diſappointing than Sodom's cheating apples, which only deceiv'd the touch, by diſſolving into aſhes; but this indur'd the handling, the more to vex and diſappoint their taſte, by filling the mouths of the damned with grating cinders and bitter aſhes, inſtead of allaying their ſcorching thirſt provoking and inflaming it: ſo handſomely has our author improv'd their puniſhment. *Hume.*

568.—*drug'd*] It is a metaphor taken from the general nauſeouſneſs of drugs, when they are taken by way of medicine. *Pearce.*
Phyſic'd, tormented with the hateful taſte uſually found in drugs.
Richardſon.

569. *With hatefulleſt diſreliſh writh'd their jaws*] Virg. Georg. II. 246.

——et ora
Triſtia tentantum ſenſu torquebit amaror.

The

Deceiv'd; they fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with guſt, inſtead of fruit
Chew'd bitter aſhes, which th' offended taſte
With ſpattering noiſe rejected: oft they' aſſay'd,
Hunger and thirſt conſtraining, drug'd as oft,
With hatefulleſt diſreliſh writh'd their jaws
With ſoot and cinders fill'd; ſo oft they fell
Into the ſame illuſion, not as Man [plagu'd
Whom they triumph'd once laps'd. Thus were they
And worn with famin, long and ceaſeleſs hiſs,
Till their loſt ſhape, permitted, they reſum'd,
Yearly

The ſound of Virgil's words admirably expreſſes the thing; nor are Milton's leſs expreſſive in this line, and that foregoing.

—which th' offended taſte
With ſpattering noiſe rejected.

572. *Whom they triumph'd once laps'd.*] Is the conſtruction thus. *Not as Man whom they triumph'd* over, *once laps'd*, ſemel lapſus eſt: Or thus rather, Quo ſemel lapſo triumpharunt, *Whom* being *once laps'd they triumph'd?* Mr. Fenton's pointing would lead one to the former ſenſe, but Milton's own will rather determin one to the latter; and thus Dr. Trapp tranſlates it,

Non ut homo; quo, egere, ſemel labente, triumphos.

The antitheſis is between *ſo oft they fell* and *once laps'd*; and as *ſo oft they fell* are the firſt words of the ſentence, *once laps'd* is very artfully thrown to the end.

573. *And worn with famin, long and ceaſeleſs hiſs.*] Dr. Bentley reads,

With *thirſt* and famin *dire*, and ceaſeleſs hiſs.

Worn (he ſays) is flat and low, after *plagu'd:* but *plagu'd* in the metaphorical ſenſe is only vex'd and tormented; an idea below that of *worn* or waſted away. He aſks why *thirſt* is omitted, though mention'd before, and leſs tolerable than *famin?* it is, becauſe famin more properly, at leaſt ſooner and more viſibly, wears men away than thirſt. *Pearce.*

The greateſt objection to this line is the want of a conjunction between

with

Yearly injoin'd, ſome ſay, to undergo,
This annual humbling certain number'd days,
To daſh their pride, and joy for Man ſeduc'd.
However ſome tradition they diſpers'd
Among the Heathen of their purchaſe got,
And fabled how the Serpent, whom they call'd
Ophion with Eurynome, the wide

En-

with famin and *long and ceaſeleſs hiſs*; but that might be remedied thus,

And worn with famin, and long ceaſeleſs hiſs.

Or thus,

And worn with famin long, and ceaſeleſs hiſs.

575. ——*ſome ſay.*] I know not, or cannot recollect from what author or what tradition Milton hath borrow'd this notion. Mr. Warburton believes that he took the hint from the old romances of which he was a great reader; where it is very common to meet with theſe annual, or monthly, or weekly penances of men chang'd into animals: but the words *ſome ſay* ſeem to imply that he has ſome expreſs authority for it, and what approaches neareſt to it is the ſpeech of the Faery Manto in Arioſto, Cant. 43. St. 98.

Ch' ogni ſettimo giorno ogn' una è certa,
Che la ſua forma in biſcia ſi converta.

Each ſev'nth day we conſtrained are to take
Upon ourſelves the perſon of a ſnake, *&c.* Harrington.

580. *And fabled how the Serpent*, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this whole paſſage: but our author is endevoring to ſhow, that there was ſome tradition, among the Heathen, of the great power that Satan had obtain'd over mankind. And this he proves by what is related of *Ophion with Eurynome*. *Ophion with Eurynome*, he ſays, *had firſt the rule of high Olympus*, and were *driven thence by Saturn and Ops* or Rhea, *ere yet* their ſon *Dictæan Jove was born*, ſo call'd from Dicte a mountain of Crete where he was educated. And Milton ſeems to have taken this ſtory from Apollonius Rhodius, Argonaut. I. 503.

Ηειδεν δ' ὡς πρωτον Οφιων Ευρυνομηνη
Ωκεανις νιφοεντος εχον κρατος ουλυμποιο.
Ὡστε βιῃ και χερσιν, ὁ μεν Κρονῳ εικαθε τιμης,
Η δε Ρεῃ· επεισον δ' ενι κυμασιν Ωκεανοιο.
Οι δε τεως μακαρεσσι θεοις Τιτησιν ανασσον,

Ορφα

Encroaching Eve perhaps, had firſt the rule
Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driven
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.
Mean while in Paradiſe the helliſh pair
Too ſoon arriv'd, Sin there in pow'r before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death
Cloſe

Οφρα Ζευς ετι κυρος επι φρεσιν ηπια ειδως
Δικλιδιον ναιεσκεν υπο σπεος.

Now *Ophion* according to the Greek etymology ſignifies *a Serpent*, and therefore Milton conceives that by *Ophion* the *old Serpent* might be intended, *the Serpent whom they call'd Ophion:* and *Eurynome* ſignifying *wide-ruling*, he ſays, but ſays doubtfully, that ſhe might be the *wide-encroaching Eve perhaps.* For I underſtand the *wide-encroaching* not as an epithet to *Eurynome*, explaining her name, but as an Epithet to *Eve*, Milton having placed the comma after *Eurynome*, and not after the *wide-encroaching.* And beſides ſome epithet ſhould be added to *Eve* to ſhew the ſimilitude between her and *Eurynome*, and why he takes the one for the other; and therefore in alluſion to the name of *Eurynome* he ſtiles Eve *the wide-encroaching*, as extending her rule and dominion farther than ſhe ſhould over her huſband, and affecting Godhead. This explanation may be farther confirm'd and illuſtrated by the following note of the learned Mr. Jortin. "Milton took this ſtory from Apollonius I. who is quoted by Lloyd's "Dictionary, under the word Ophion. Prometheus in Æſchylus, "ver. 956. ſays that two Gods "had borne rule before Jupiter: "where the Scholiaſt; εβασιλευσε "πρωτον μεν ὁ Οφιων και Ευρυνομη" "επειτα Κρονος και Ρεα· μετα ταυ"τα δε ὁ Ζευς και Ηρα. Others "will have it that Ουρανος and Γη "reigned firſt. I think the epithet "*wide-encroaching* belongs to *Eve* "not to *Eurynome*. He calls *Eve* "*wide-encroaching*, becauſe, as he "tells us, ſhe wanted to be ſupe"rior to her huſband, to be a God"deſs &c."

586.—*Sin there in pow'r before,*
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant;] The ſenſe is, That before the fall Sin was *in pow'r*, or potentially, in Paradiſe; that *once* viz. upon the fall, it was actually there, tho' not bodily; but that *now*, upon its arrival in Paradiſe, it was there in *body*, and dwelt as a conſtant inhabitant. The words *in body* allude to what St. Paul ſays Rom. VI. 6. *that the body of ſin might be deſtroy'd.* Pearce.

590. On

Cloſe following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horſe: to whom Sin thus began.
Second of Satan ſprung, all conqu'ring Death,
What think'ſt thou of our empire now, though earn'd
With travel difficult, not better far
Then ſtill at Hell's dark threſhold to' have ſat watch,
Unnam'd, undreaded, and thyſelf half ſtarv'd?
Whom thus the Sin-born monſter anſwer'd ſoon.
To me, who with eternal famin pine
Alike is Hell, or Paradiſe, or Heaven,
There beſt, where moſt with ravin I may meet;
Which here, though plenteous, all too little ſeems
To ſtuff this maw, this vaſt unhide-bound corps.
To whom th' inceſtuous mother thus reply'd.
Thou

590. *On his pale horſe:*] Tho' the author in the whole courſe of his poem, and particularly in the book we are now examining, has infinite alluſions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my remarks of ſuch as are of a poetical nature, and which are woven with great beauty into the body of his fable. Of this kind is that paſſage in the preſent book, where deſcribing Sin and Death, as marching through the works of Nature, he adds,

—— behind her Death
Cloſe following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horſe:——

Which alludes to that paſſage in Scripture, ſo wonderfully poetical, and terrifying to the imagination, Rev. VI. 8. *And I looked, and behold a pale horſe; and his name that ſat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with ſword, and with hunger, and with Death, and with the beaſt of the earth.* Addiſon.

Milton has given a fine turn to this poetical thought, by ſaying that Death had *not* mounted *yet* on his pale horſe: for tho' he was to have a long and all-conquering power, he had not *yet* begun, neither was he for ſome time to put it in execution. *Greenwood.*

601.—*this*

Thou therefore on theſe herbs, and fruits, and flowers
Feed firſt, on each beaſt next, and fiſh, and fowl,
No homely morſels; and whatever thing
The ſithe of Time mowes down, devour unſpar'd;
Till I in Man reſiding through the race,
His thoughts, his looks, words, actions all infect,
And ſeaſon him thy laſt and ſweeteſt prey.
This ſaid, they both betook them ſeveral ways,
Both to deſtroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for deſtruction to mature
Sooner or later; which th' Almighty ſeeing,
From his tranſcendent ſeat the Saints among,
To thoſe bright Orders utter'd thus his voice.
See with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance

To

601. ——*this vaſt unbide-bound corps.*] It is ſtrange how Dr. Bentley and others have puzzled this paſſage. The meaning is plain enough. For Death though lean is yet deſcrib'd as a vaſt monſter in Book II. And his ſkin was not tight-brac'd, and did not look ſleek and ſmooth, as when creatures are ſwoln and full; but hung looſe about him, and was capable of containing a great deal without being diſtended.

616. *See with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance* &c.] Upon the arrival of Sin and Death into the works of the creation, the Almighty is again introduced as ſpeaking to his Angels that ſurrounded him. *Addiſon.*

We may be certain I think that Milton had his eye upon this paſſage in Sophocles, Electra. 1385.

Ιὼ ὦ πόπ' προνεμεῖλαι
Το δυσιχιτον αιμα φυσων αρης·
Βεβασι δ' αρτι δωμαῖων υποστεγοι
Μιταδρομιοι κακων παγκρημνων,
Αφυκτοι κυνες

And may we not ſuppoſe that he alluded too to the following paſſage in Shakeſpear's Julius Cæſar? Act III.

And

To waſte and havoc yonder world, which I
So fair and good created, and had ſtill
Kept in that ſtate, had not the folly of Man
Let in theſe waſteful furies, who impute
Folly to me, ſo doth the prince of Hell
And his adherents, that with ſo much eaſe
I ſuffer them to enter and poſſeſs
A place ſo heav'nly, and conniving ſeem
To gratify my ſcornful enemies,
That laugh, as if tranſported with ſome fit
Of paſſion, I to them had quitted all,
At random yielded up to their miſrule;
And know not that I call'd and drew them thither

My

And Cæſar's Spirit, ranging for revenge,
With Atè by his ſide came hot from Hell,
Shall in theſe confines, with a monarch's voice,
Cry Havoc, and let ſlip the dogs of war.

Homer often puts ſuch language into the mouths of his Gods and heroes, and there are ſome ſuch expreſſions in Scripture. *For dogs have compaſſed me.* Pſal. XXII. 16. *They are greedy dogs.* Iſa. LVI. 11. *Beware of dogs.* Phil. III. 2. *Without are dogs.* Rev. XXII. 15. Thus fa perhaps our author may be juſtify'd, but in ſome other parts of this ſpeech the metaphors are wonderfully coarſe indeed, and ſeem to be beneath the dignity of an epic poem, and much more unbecoming the majeſty of the Divine Speaker; unleſs they may be vindicated by the following paſſage in Scripture, which is expreſſed by the Son of God himſelf. Rev. III. 16. *I will ſpue thee out of my mouth.* The foregoing quotation from Shakeſpear,

Cry Havoc, and let ſlip the dogs of war,

Mr. Warburton thinks much happier (as indeed it is) than this paſſage in our author, becauſe *havoc* was formerly the cry made uſe of when the irregulars in an army deſtroy'd all before them with fire and ſword. When Henry V. made his ex-

My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth
Which Man's polluting ſin with taint hath ſhed
On what was pure, till cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh burſt
With ſuck'd and glutted offal, at one ſling
Of thy victorious arm, well-pleaſing Son,
Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at laſt
Through Chaos hurl'd, obſtruct the mouth of Hell
For ever, and ſeal up his ravenous jaws.
Then Heav'n and Earth renew'd ſhall be made pure
To ſanctity that ſhall receive no ſtain:
Till then the curſe pronounc'd on both precedes.
He ended, and the heav'nly audience loud
Sung

expedition into France, he had rules and orders of war drawn up (a copy of which is in Lincoln's Inn library) where there is one chapter denouncing the puniſhment of thoſe who *cry havoc*.

635. *Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at laſt*] Death and the Grave meaning the ſame is a *pleonaſm*, an abounding fulneſs of expreſſion, which adding force and energy, and calling forth the attention, is a beauty common in the beſt writers: but not for that reaſon only Milton has uſed this; the Scripture hath thus join'd Death and the Grave, Hoſ. XIII. 14. 1 Cor. XV. 55. and Rev. XX. 13. where the word render'd Hell ſignifies alſo the Grave. *Richardſon.*

640. *Till then the curſe pronounc'd on both precedes*] *On both*, that is on *Heav'n and Earth* mention'd in ver. 638. the Heaven and Earth that were polluted, and *ſhall be made pure to ſanctity*. But ſhould we read *precedes* or *proceeds* with Dr. Bentley? And is the meaning (as Mr. Richardſon explains it) that the curſe pronounc'd ſhall go before thoſe ravagers Sin and Death, and ſhall direct and lead them on? Or the curſe ſhall *proceed*, ſhall go on, ſhall continue till the conſummation of all things, and Heaven and Earth ſhall be reſtored?

641. *He ended, and the heav'nly audience loud*

Sung Halleluiah,] Dr. Bentley reads *and to him the audience loud* &c;

Sung Halleluiah, as the ſound of ſeas,
Through multitude that ſung: Juſt are thy ways,
Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works;
Who can extenuate thee? Next, to the Son,
Deſtin'd reſtorer of mankind, by whom
New Heav'n and Earth ſhall to the ages riſe,
Or down from Heav'n deſcend. Such was their ſong,
While

without this (ſays he) it is not ſaid *to whom* they ſung; and the words *Next, to the Son*, ver. 645. ſhow that they ſung before *to him*, to the Father. But this objection is founded upon the Doctor's not obſerving the force of the word *Halleluiah*, where *Jah* ſignifies *to God*, the Father; and therefore there was no need of *to him*. See VII. 634.

642. —*as the ſound of ſeas,*
Through multitude that ſung:] This paſſage is formed upon that glorious image in holy Writ, which compares the voice of an innumerable hoſt of Angels, uttering Halleluiah's to the voice of mighty thunderings or of many waters. *Addiſon.*

643. —*Juſt are thy ways,*
Righteous are thy decrees] The ſame ſong that they are repreſented ſinging in the Revelation. *Juſt and true are thy ways, thou King of ſaints*, Rev. XV. 3. *True and righteous are thy judgments*, Rev. XVI. 7. As in the foregoing paſſage he alluded to Rev. XIX. 6. *And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, ſaying, Halleluiah.*

647. *New Heav'n and Earth ſhall*
to the ages riſe,
Or down from Heav'n deſcend.] Heaven and Earth is the Jewiſh phraſe to expreſs our world; and the *new Heav'n and Earth* muſt certainly be the ſame with that mention'd juſt before,

Then *Heav'n and Earth* renew'd ſhall be made pure
To ſanctity that ſhall receive no ſtain:

And they *ſhall to the ages riſe*, to the Millennium, to the auræa ſæcula, as they are call'd, or to *ages of endleſs date*, as he elſewhere expreſſes it, XII. 549.

New Heav'ns, new Earth, *ages of endleſs date*,
Founded in righteouſneſs, and peace, and love.

Shall riſe, for ſometimes he ſpeaks of them as *rais'd from the conflagrant maſs*, XII. 547. And *ſpringing from the aſhes*, III. 334. *Or down from Heav'n deſcend*, for St. John deſcribes *the holy city, the new Jeruſalem*, Rev. XXI. 2. as *coming down from God out of Heaven.*

650. —*gave them ſeveral charge*] Under this head of celeſtial perſons

we

While the Creator calling forth by name
His mighty Angels gave them ſeveral charge
As ſorted beſt with preſent things. The ſun
Had firſt his precept ſo to move, ſo ſhine,
As might affect the earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
Decrepit winter, from the ſouth to bring
Solſtitial

we muſt likewiſe take notice of the command which the Angels receiv'd to produce the ſeveral changes in nature, and fully the beauty of the creation. Accordingly they are repreſented as infecting the ſtars and planets with malignant influences, weakening the light of the ſun, bringing down the winter into the milder regions of nature, planting winds and ſtorms in ſeveral quarters of the ſky, ſtoring the clouds with thunder, and in ſhort perverting the whole frame of the univerſe to the condition of its c iminal inhabitants. As this is a noble incident in the poem, the following lines in which we ſee the Angels heaving up the earth, and placing it in a different poſture to the ſun from what it had before the fall of Man, is conceived with that ſublime imagination which was ſo peculiar to this great author.

Some ſay he bid his Angels turn aſcanſe &c. *Addiſon.*

655. *Decrepit winter,*] Alluding perhaps to Spenſer's deſcription of winter under the figure of a decrepit old man, Faery Queen, B. 7. Cant. 7. St. 31.

In his right hand a tipped ſtaff he held,
With which his feeble ſteps he ſtayed ſtill:
For he was faint with cold, and weak with eld,
That ſcarce his looſed limbs he able was to weld. *Thyer.*

The expreſſion of *decrepit winter* occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher. A Wife for a Month. Act IV.

Decrepit winter hang upon my ſhoulders.

655. *—from the ſouth to bring Solſtitial ſummer's heat.*] Have a care (ſays Dr. Bentley) of going too far *ſouth* to bring *ſummer's heat*, the regions near the ſouthern pole being as cold as thoſe near the northern: he therefore reads

——from the *torrid zone*
Solſtitial ſummer's heat.

But the word *Solſtitial* ſeems ſufficiently to determin, from how far ſouth Milton meant that this *ſummer's heat* was brought, *viz.* ſo far from the ſouth as the ſun is, when he is in the ſummer's *ſolſtice*, or about 23 degrees and a half ſouthward. *Peirce.*

The ancient poets repreſent the ſouth as the region of heat. Statius. Thebaid. I. 160.

Solſtitial ſummer's heat. To the blanc moon
Her office they preſcrib'd, to th' other five
Their planetary motions and aſpects
In ſextile, ſquare, and trine, and oppoſit
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
In ſynod unbenign; and taught the fix'd
Their influence malignant when to ſhower,

Which

——aut Boreâ gelidas, madidive tepentes
Igne noti.

Lucan I. 54. very extravagantly,

Nec polus averſi calidus qua vergitur auſtri. *Jortin.*

656. *To the blanc moon* &c.] Of the French, *blanc*, white, as Virgil calls her *candida luna*, Æn. VII. 8. and the Italian poets frequently *bianca luna*. And that is ſaid here of the moon, and of the ſtars, *Which of them riſing with the ſun, or falling, ſhould prove tempeſtuous*, was written probably not without an eye to Virgil, Georg. I. 335.

Hoc metuens cœli menſes et ſidera ſerva,
Frigida Saturni ſeſe quo ſtella receptet,
Quos ignis cœli Cyllenius erret in orbes.——
Ipſe pater ſtatuit quid menſtrua luna moneret,
Quo ſigno caderent auſtri.

In fear of this obſerve the ſtarry ſigns
Where Saturn houſes, and where Hermes joins.——
The Sov'reign of the Heav'ns has ſet on high
The moon, to mark the changes of the ſky,
When ſouthern blaſts ſhould ceaſe.
Dryden.

659. *In ſextile, ſquare, and trine, and oppoſit*] If a planet, in one part of the zodiac, be diſtant from another by a *ſixth* part of twelve, that is by two ſigns, their *aſpect* is called *ſextile*; if by a *fourth*, *ſquare*; by a *third*, *trine*; and if by one half *oppoſit*, which laſt is ſaid to be of *noxious efficacy*, becauſe the planets ſo oppoſed are thought to ſtrive, debilitate and overcome one another: deemed of evil conſequence to thoſe born under or ſubject to the influence of the diſtreſſed ſtar. *Hume.* If an unneceſſary oſtentation of learning be, as Mr. Addiſon obſerves, one of our author's faults, it certainly muſt be an aggravation of it, where he not only introduces, but countenances ſuch enthuſiaſtic unphiloſophical notions as this jargon of the aſtrologers is made up of. *Thyer.*

664.—*To the winds they ſet* &c.] Thus the firſt editions, and I think all others before Dr. Bentley's appear'd:

Which of them riſing with the ſun, or falling,
Should prove tempeſtuous: To the winds they ſet
Their corners, when with bluſters to confound
Sea, air, and ſhore, the thunder when to roll
With terror through the dark aereal hall.
Some ſay he bid his angels turn aſcanſe
The poles of earth twice ten degrees and more

From

pear'd: and they give the true reading, whereas he would read,

——To the winds they *gave*
Their *orders*, when with bluſter to confound
Sea, air, and ſhore: To thunder when to roll
With terror through the *wide* aereal hall.

Let us hear his reaſons for altering the text. The *winds* (ſays he) as diſtinguiſh'd from one another, had their *corners* and quarters ſet before the fall; but this aſſertion is directly contrary to what Milton tells us in ver. 695, &c. He aſks what is meant by *their corners*, when *with bluſter to confound?* But the ſentence is to be thus ſupply'd, *ſet their corners*, and taught them *when with bluſter* &c: and the ſame ellipſis we have in ver. 660. Or if this ſhould not be approv'd of, I had much rather read (as the Doctor propoſes) *ſet their corners*, whence *with bluſter to confound—the thunder* whence *to roll*. It may be wonder'd at, how the Doctor came in the next verſe to change *the thunder when to roll*, into, *To thunder, when to roll*; ſince *roll* is plainly an active verb here, and *thunder* is the accuſative caſe after it. As little reaſon has he to change *dark* in the laſt verſe into *wide*; for ſince he allows that the *aereal hall* or ſky is *darken'd* by the clouds that attend and cauſe *thunder*, the ſky may as well be ſaid in poetry to be then *dark*, as *darken'd*. Pearce.

668. *Some ſay he bid his Angels* &c.] It was *eternal ſpring* (IV. 268.) before the fall; and he is now accounting for the change of ſeaſons after the fall, and mentions the two famous hypotheſes. *Some ſay* it was occaſion'd by altering the poſition of the earth, by turning the poles of the earth above 20 degrees aſide from the ſun's orb, *he bid his Angels turn aſcanſe the poles of earth twice ten degrees and more from the ſun's axle*; and the poles of the earth are about 23 degrees and a half diſtant from thoſe of the ecliptic; *they with labor puſh'd oblique the centric globe*, it was erect before, but is *oblique* now; the *obliquity* of a ſphere is the proper aſtronomical term, when the pole is raiſed any numer of degrees

From the ſun's axle, they with labor puſh'd
Oblique the centric globe: Some ſay the ſun
Was bid turn reins from th' equinoctial road
Like diſtant breadth to Taurus with the ſeven
Atlantic Siſters, and the Spartan Twins
Up to the Tropic Crab; thence down amain
By Leo and the Virgin and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorn, to bring in change
Of ſeaſons to each clime; elſe had the ſpring
Perpetual ſmil'd on earth with vernant flowers,
Equal

leſs than 90; *the centric globe* fix'd on its center and therefore mov'd *with labor* and difficulty, or rather *centric* as being the center of the world, according to the Ptolemaic ſyſtem, which our author uſually follows. *Some ſay* again this change was occaſion'd by altering the courſe of the ſun, *the ſun was bid to turn reins from the equinoctial road* in which he had moved before, *like diſtant breadth* in both hemiſpheres, *to Taurus with the ſeven Atlantic Siſters*, the conſtellation Taurus with the ſeven ſtars in his neck, the Pleiades daughters of Atlas, *and the Spartan Twins*, the ſign Gemini, Caſtor and Pollux, twin-brothers, and ſons of Tyndarus king of Sparta, *up to the Tropic Crab*, the tropic of Cancer, the ſun's fartheſt ſtage northwards; *thence down amain*, Dr. Bentley reads *as much*, as much on one ſide of the equator as the other, but if any alteration were neceſſary it is eaſier to read thence *down again*, *by Leo and the Virgin*, the ſign Virgo, *and the Scales*, the conſtellation Libra, *as deep as Capricorn*, the tropic of Capricorn which is the ſun's fartheſt progreſs ſouthwards. This motion of the ſun in the ecliptic occaſions the variety of ſeaſons, *elſe had the ſpring perpetual ſmil'd on earth with vernant flowers*, if the ſun had continued to move in the equator. It is likewiſe Dr. Burnet's aſſertion, that the primitive earth enjoy'd a perpetual ſpring, and for the ſame reaſon of the ſun's moving in the equator. But tho' this notion of a perpetual ſpring may be very pleaſing in poetry, yet it is very falſe in philoſophy; and this poſition of the earth ſo far from being the beſt is one of the worſt it could have, as Dr. Keill hath prov'd excellently well in the fourth chapter of his

Exami-

Equal in days and nights, except to thoſe
Beyond the polar circles; to them day
Had unbenighted ſhone, while the low ſun
To recompenſe his diſtance, in their ſight
Had rounded ſtill th' horizon, and not known
Or eaſt or weſt, which had forbid the ſnow
From cold Eſtotiland, and ſouth as far
Beneath Magellan. At that taſted fruit
The ſun, as from Thyéſtean banquet, turn'd
His courſe intended; elſe how had the world

In-

Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth.

673.——*to Taurus*] Dr. Bentley reads *through Taurus*, through it and Gemini, up to Cancer. And Mr. Pope approves this emendation, and it ſeems probable, *through Taurus* and *By Leo* afterwards anſwering to each other.

686.—*Eſtotiland*,] A great tract of land in the north of America, towards the Arctic Circle and Hudſon's Bay; as *Magellan* is a country in ſouth America, which together with its ſtraits took their name of Ferdinandus Magellanus a Portugueſe, who in the year 1520 firſt diſcover'd them. *Hume.*

687. —*At that taſted fruit*
The ſun, as from Thyéſtean banquet, turn'd &c.] Dr. Bentley ſays that *Thyéſtean* for *Thyeſtéan* is intolerable: but I have ſhewn that Milton uſed *Ægean* for *Ægéan*, in my note on I. 745. and ſo our poet in his *Samſon Agoniſtes*, ver. 133. uſes *Chalybean* for *Chalybéan*. Inſtances of ſuch a poetical liberty may be found in the beſt ancient poets as well as in the modern ones. *Pearce.*
Thyeſtes and Atreus brethren hated each other outrageouſly; the firſt in ſpite lay with the wife of Atreus, but he having gotten his brother's children in his power pretended a deſire of reconciliation, and invited him to a banquet. Thyeſtes, that he might ſee his children, diſſembling his augmented malice, came; the feaſt being over, his brother let him know he had been entertain'd with the fleſh of his ſons, and their blood mix'd with the wine, and ſhow'd him the ſad proof of what he had told him, their heads and hands,

Inhabited, though ſinleſs, more than now,
Avoided pinching cold and ſcorching heat?
Theſe changes in the Heav'ns, though ſlow, produc'd
Like change on ſea and land, ſideral blaſt,
Vapor, and miſt, and exhalation hot,
Corrupt and peſtilent: Now from the north
Of Norumbega, and the Samoed ſhore,
Burſting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice
And ſnow and hail and ſtormy guſt and flaw,
Boreas and Cæcias and Argeſtes loud
And Thraſcias rend the woods and ſeas upturn;
With

which he had reſerv'd for that purpoſe. At this the ſun is ſaid to have turn'd away, as Milton here ſays he did when the more dreadful banquet was made on the fruit of the forbidden tree. *Richardſon.*
We may farther obſerve that it is called the *Thyeſtean banquet*, though made not by him, but only for him; and Euripides in like manner calls it, δαιτα θυεστε. Oreſt. 1010. and Horace *cœna Thyeſtæ*. De Art. Poet. 91. and Mr. Pope would read here *Thyeſtes'*.

696. *Of Norumbega, and the Samoed ſhore,*] *Norumbega* a province of the northern America; *Samoieda*, a province in the north-eaſt of Muſcovy, upon the frozen ſea. *Hume.*

697.—*arm'd with ice* &c.] So Claudian de Rapt. Proſ. I. 69.

——ceu turbine rauco
Cum gravis *armatur* Boreas, glacieque nivali &c. *Richardſon.*

698.—*and ſtormy guſt and flaw,*] *Guſt* and *flaw* ſeem to be words much of the ſame import, only *flaw* is the ſtronger, deriv'd (as Junius ſays) from the Greek φλαω, to break. Shakeſpear uſes both words in his Venus and Adonis,

Like a red morn that ever yet betoken'd
Guſt and foul *flaws* to herdſmen and to herds.

699. *Boreas*] The north wind. *Cæcias* the north-weſt. *Argeſtes* the north-eaſt. *Thraſcias* blowing from Thrace northward of Greece. *Notus* the ſouth wind. *Aſer* or Africus, the ſouth-weſt from Africa;

Notuſque ruunt creberque procellis Africus. Virg. Æn. I. 85.

From

With adverſe blaſt upturns them from the ſouth
Notus and Afer black with thundrous clouds
From Serraliona; thwart of theſe as fierce
Forth ruſh the Levant and the Ponent winds
Eurus and Zephyr with their lateral noiſe,
Sirocco and Libecchio. Thus began
Outrage from lifeleſs things; but Diſcord firſt
Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational,
Death introduc'd through fierce antipathy:
Beaſt now with beaſt 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fiſh with fiſh; to graze the herb all leaving,
Devour'd

From Serraliona or Lion Mountains; a range of mountains ſo call'd becauſe of the perpetual ſtorms there roaring like a lion. Theſe are to the ſouth-weſt of Africa, within a few leagues of Cape Verd, the weſtern point. *Eurus and Zephyr* the eaſt and weſt, call'd alſo *Levant* and *Ponent* winds (riſing and ſetting) the one blowing from whence the ſun riſes, the other whence it ſets. *Sirocco* ventus Syrus, the ſouth-eaſt; and *Libecchio* ventus Lybicus, the ſouth-weſt: Italian terms uſed by ſeamen of the Mediterranean.

Hume and *Richardſon.*

In this account of the winds is a needleſs oſtentation of learning, and a ſtrange mixture of ancient and modern, Latin and Italian names together. Theſe are the foibles and weak parts of our author, and of theſe it may too truly be ſaid,

Such labor'd nothings, in ſo ſtrange a ſtile,
Amaze th' unlearn'd, and make the learned ſmile.

711.—*to graze the herb all leaving*, &c.] The word *all* here makes ſtrange ſenſe of this paſſage, ſince according to common conſtruction it implies that beaſts, fowl, and fiſh, all graz'd before the fall, and immediately after it began all to prey upon each other, neither of which could poſſibly be Milton's meaning. How to reſtore the true reading I don't pretend to determin, but the following lines ſeem to confine the devouring to the beaſts, and might not therefore the word *thoſe* be ſubſtituted in the place of *all? Thyer.*

Whether

Devour'd each other; nor ſtood much in awe
Of Man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim
Glar'd on him paſſing. Theſe were from without
The growing miſeries which Adam ſaw
Already' in part, though hid in gloomieſt ſhade,
To

Whether Milton's notion was right or not is another queſtion, but certainly it was his notion that *beaſt*, *fowl*, and *fiſh* grazed the herb before the fall. Of the *beaſts* there can be no doubt; and the *fowl* have the green herb given them for meat as well as the beaſts. Gen. I. 30. *And to every beaſt of the earth, and to every fowl of the air I have given every green herb for meat.* And the gooſe particularly is by the poet who has beſt imitated Milton call'd *cloſe-grazer*. Philip's Cyder, B. 1.

——On the barren heath
The ſhepherd tends his flock, that daily crop
Their verdant dinner from the moſſy turf
Sufficient; after them the cackling gooſe,
Cloſe-grazer, finds wherewith to eaſe her want.

The greateſt difficulty is with regard to the *fiſh*, but of theſe Milton ſays expreſly VII. 404. that they

Graze the ſea weed their paſture—

And therefore according to this notion it may be ſaid of fowl and fiſh as well as beaſts,

——to graze the herb all leaving,
Devour'd each other——

But *all* here is not all and every one in particular, but only all in general. Fowl prey upon fowl, and fiſh upon fiſh, as much as beaſt upon beaſt. Beaſt, fowl, and fiſh, all the three kinds, tho' not all of the three kinds, devour each other.

712. *——nor ſtood much in awe Of Man, but fled him,*] Dr. Bentley reads *but ſhunn'd him:* becauſe (he ſays) if they fled him, it was a ſign of *fear*, of more than *awe*. True, and for that very reaſon *fled* is right here, becauſe nothing more ſhows our not ſtanding much in awe of a Man than our fearing him! *Awe* is a reſpect or reverence paid to one whom we love, and love excludes fear. *Pearce.*

714. *——Theſe were from without* &c.] The tranſition to Adam here is very eaſy and natural, and cannot fail of pleaſing the reader. We have ſeen great alterations produced in nature, and it is now time to ſee how Adam is affected with them, and whether the diſorders *within* are not even worſe than thoſe *without*.

718. *And*

To ſorrow' abandon'd, but worſe felt within,
And in a troubled ſea of paſſion toſt,
Thus to diſburden ſought with ſad complaint.
O miſerable of happy! is this the end
Of this new glorious world, and me ſo late

The

718. *And in a troubled ſea of paſſion toſt,*
Thus to diſburden ſought with ſad compluint.] A metaphor taken from a ſhip in a tempeſt, unlading, *diſburd'ning* to preſerve itſelf from ſinking by its weight.
Richardſon.

The wicked are like the troulled ſea, Iſa. LVII. 20. *Greenwood.*

720. *O miſerable of happy!* &c.] The parts of Adam and Eve, or the human perſons come next under our conſideration. Milton's art is no where more ſhown than in his conducting the parts of theſe our firſt parents. The repreſentation he gives of them, without falſifying the ſtory, is wonderfully contriv'd to influence the reader with pity and compaſſion towards them. Though Adam involves the whole ſpecies in miſery, his crime proceeds from a weakneſs which every man is inclin'd to pardon and commiſerate, as it ſeems rather the frailty of human nature, than of the perſon who offended. Every one is apt to excuſe a fault which he himſelf might have fallen into. It was the exceſs of love for Eve, that ruin'd Adam and his poſterity. I need not add, that the author is juſtify'd in this particular by many of the fathers, and the moſt orthodox writers. Milton has by this means filled a great part of his poem with that kind of writing which the French critics call the *tender*, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all ſorts of readers. Adam and Eve, in the book we are now conſidering, are likewiſe drawn with ſuch ſentiments, as do not only intereſt the reader in their afflictions, but raiſe in him the moſt melting paſſions of humanity and commiſeration. When Adam ſees the ſeveral changes in nature produced about him, he appears in a diſorder of mind ſuitable to one who had forfeited both his innocence and his happineſs; he is filled with horror, remorſe, deſpair; in the anguiſh of his heart he expoſtulates with his Creator for having given him an unaſk'd exiſtence.

Did I requeſt thee, Maker, from
my clay
To mold me Man? &c.

He immediately after recovers from his preſumption, owns his doom to be juſt, and begs that the death which is threaten'd him may be inflicted on him,

——why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? &c.

This

The glory of that glory, who now become
Accurs'd of bleſſed, hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
Of happineſs! yet well, if here would end
The miſery; I deſerv'd it, and would bear
My own deſervings; but this will not ſerve;
All that I eat or drink, or ſhall beget,
Is propagated curſe. O voice once heard
Delightfully, *Increaſe and multiply*,
Now death to hear! for what can I increaſe
Or multiply, but curſes on my head?
Who of all ages to ſucceed, but feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curſe
My head? Ill fare our anceſtor impure,

For

This whole ſpeech is full of the like emotion, and varied with all thoſe ſentiments which we may ſuppoſe natural to a mind ſo broken and diſturb'd. I muſt not omit that generous concern which our firſt father ſhows in it for his poſterity, and which is ſo proper to affect the reader. Who can afterwards behold the father of mankind extended upon the earth, uttering his midnight complaints, bewailing his exiſtence, and wiſhing for death, without ſympathizing with him in his diſtreſs? *Addiſon.*

728. *All that I eat or drink, or ſhall beget,*

Is propagated curſe.] Meat and drink propagate it by prolonging life, and children by carrying it on to poſterity.

740. *On me as on their natural center light*
Heavy, though in their place.] Dr. Bentley has really made ſome very juſt objections to ſeveral lines here together. He finds fault with Adam's not keeping up a due decorum, and in that heavy ſeriouſneſs and anxiety leaving his true topics, and catching at trifles, quirks, jingles, and other ſuch prettineſſes. He cenſures him, as Mr. Addiſon had done

For this we may thank Adam; but his thanks
Shall be the execration; ſo beſides
Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
Shall with a fierce reflux on me rebound,
On me as on their natural center light
Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys
Of Paradiſe, dear bought with laſting woes!
Did I requeſt thee, Maker, from my clay
To mold me Man, did I ſolicit thee
From darkneſs to promote me, or here place
In this delicious garden? as my will
Concurr'd not to my be'ing, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my duſt,
Deſirous to reſign and render back
All

done before, for uſing ſuch low phraſes, as *For this we may thank Adam*; and then for ſoaring ſo high inter nubes et inania; *refluxes and natural centers*; *heavy, though in their place*. Adam, it ſeems, was already a Peripatetic in his notions: he ſuppoſes here, that elementary bodies do not gravitate in their natural places: not air in air, not water in water; from which he fetches a pretty lamentation, That contrary to the courſe of nature, his afflictions will *weigh heavy* on him, though they be in their *proper place*. Is not he ſorely afflicted (ſays the Doctor) that talks at this rate? And yet the worſt of it is, this notion is falſe, and long ſince exploded by the modern philoſophy: water weighs in water, as much as it does out of it. And therefore the Doctor is for lopping off with a bold hand ten lines together: and we heartily wiſh indeed that no ſuch paſſages had been admitted into any part of the poem, and eſpecially into ſo fine a ſpeech as this before us, and all that we can ſay for them is,

Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.

758. *Thou*

All I receiv'd, unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I ſought not. To the loſs of that,
Sufficient penalty, why haſt thou added
The ſenſe of endleſs woes? inexplicable
Thy juſtice ſeems; yet to ſay truth, too late
I thus conteſt; then ſhould have been refus'd
Thoſe terms whatever, when they were propos'd:
Thou didſt accept them: wilt thou' enjoy the good,
Then cavil the conditions? and though God
Made thee without thy leave, what if thy ſon
Prove diſobedient, and reprov'd, retort,
Wherefore didſt thou beget me? I ſought it not:
Wouldſt thou admit for his contempt of thee
That proud excuſe? yet him not thy election,
But natural neceſſity begot.
God made thee' of choice his own, and of his own
To ſerve him; thy reward was of his grace,

Thy

758. *Thou didſt* &c.] The change of perſons, ſometimes ſpeaking of himſelf in the firſt and ſometimes to himſelf in the ſecond, is very remarkable in this ſpeech, as well as the change of paſſions. And in like manner he ſpeaks ſometimes of God and ſometimes to God.

773. *Fix'd on this day?*] For God had ſaid, *In the day that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die*, Gen. II. 17. But it may be queſtion'd whether it was now *this day*; for the night of this day is mention'd before in ver. 342. and the *ſun's riſing* is taken notice of in ver. 329: but Milton is not always very exact in marking the time; he neglects thoſe little things for greater beauties.

783.—*leſt*

Thy puniſhment then juſtly' is at his will.
Be' it ſo, for I ſubmit; his doom is fair,
That duſt I am, and ſhall to duſt return:
O welcome hour whenever! why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? why do I overlive,
Why am I mock'd with death, and lengthen'd out
To deathleſs pain? how gladly would I meet
Mortality my ſentence, and be earth
Inſenſible, how glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap? there I ſhould reſt
And ſleep ſecure; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worſe
To me and to my ofspring would torment me
With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
Purſues me ſtill, leſt all I cannot die,
Leſt that pure breath of life, the ſpi'rit of Man
Which God inſpir'd, cannot together periſh
With

783.——*leſt all I cannot die,*] A like expreſſion in Horace. Od. III. XXX. 6.

Non omnis moriar.

784.——*that pure breath of life, the ſpi'rit of Man Which God inſpir'd,*] For *the Lord God formed man out of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life, and man became a living ſoul,* Gen. II. 7. And a Heathen poet calls it *divinæ particulam auræ:* Hor. Sat. II. II. 79. and a moſt memorable paſſage it is, and deſerves to be quoted at length.

——Corpus onuſtum
Heſter-

With this corporeal clod; then in the grave,
Or in ſome other diſmal place, who knows
But I ſhall die a living death? O thought
Horrid, if true! yet why? it was but breath
Of life that ſinn'd; what dies but what had life
And ſin? the body properly hath neither.
All of me then ſhall die: let this appeaſe
The doubt, ſince human reach no further knows.
For though the Lord of all be infinite,
Is his wrath alſo? be it, Man is not ſo,
But mortal doom'd. How can he exerciſe
Wrath without end on Man whom death muſt end?
Can

Heſternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat unà,
Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.

789. ——*it was but breath*
Of life that ſinn'd;] Adam is here endevoring to prove to himſelf that the *breath of life* (*the ſpirit of Man which God inſpir'd* into him ver. 784.) was to die with his body; and his argument here and in what follows runs thus. Nothing *but* breath of life ſinn'd; nothing, but what had life and ſin, dies; the body properly has neither of theſe, and therefore he concludes that the breath of life (or ſpirit of Man within him) was to die; and that *all* of him was to die, becauſe the body he knew was mortal. *Pearce.*

800. *Impoſſible is held, as argument*
Of weakneſs, not of pow'r.] This is the doctrin of the Schoolmen: but as it is here ſpoken in the perſon of Adam, we muſt ſuppoſe that it was *held* likewiſe by the Angels, of whom he might have learned it in diſcourſe.

804. ——*that were to extend*
His ſentence beyond duſt and nature's law,] Dr. Bentley propoſes to read—*beyond juſt and nature's law*; but *duſt* is the true reading. Part of the ſentence pronounced upon Adam, X. 208. was this,

For duſt thou art, and ſhalt to duſt return.

Hence Adam here argues, that for God to puniſh him after death would be to *extend the ſentence beyond duſt*, beyond

Can he make deathleſs death? that were to make
Strange contradiction, which to God himſelf
Impoſſible is held, as argument
Of weakneſs, not of pow'r. Will he draw out,
For anger's ſake, finite to infinite
In puniſh'd Man, to ſatisfy his rigor
Satisfy'd never? that were to extend
His ſentence beyond duſt and nature's law,
By which all cauſes elſe according ſtill
To the reception of their matter act,
Not to th' extent of their own ſphere. But ſay
That death be not one ſtroke, as I ſuppos'd

Bereaving

beyond what he thought imply'd in the words, *thou ſhalt to duſt return*. See alſo ver. 748, 1085. where Adam ſpeaks of being reduc'd to duſt, as the final end of him. *Pearce.*

806. *By which all cauſes elſe* &c] All other agents act in proportion to the *reception* or capacity of the ſubject matter, and not to the utmoſt extent of their own power. An alluſion to another axiom of the ſchools: Omne efficiens agit ſecundum vires recipientis, non ſuas. But this is not ſo bad as what Mr. Pope has objected to our author,

Milton's ſtrong pinion now not Heav'n can bound,
Now ſerpent-like, in proſe he ſweeps the ground;
In quibbles Angel and Arch-Angel join,
And God the Father turns a School divine.

But it ſhould be conſider'd that this ſort of divinity was much more in faſhion in Milton's days; and no wonder that he was a little oſtentatious of ſhowing his reading in this, as well as in all other branches of learning. And for his creeping in proſe, which Mr. Dryden has likewiſe objected to our author in the preface to his Juvenal, we are ſatisfied that he is thought to do ſo the more only becauſe of his writing in blank verſe: And if thoſe two poets themſelves (excellent as they are) were ſtript and diveſted of their rime, it would appear in ſeveral

Bereaving ſenſe, but endleſs miſery
From this day onward, which I feel begun
Both in me, and without me, and ſo laſt
To perpetuity; Ay me, that fear
Comes thund'ring back with dreadful revolution
On my defenſeleſs head; both Death and I
Am found eternal, and incorporate both,
Nor I in my part ſingle, in me all
Poſterity ſtands curs'd: Fair patrimony
That I muſt leave ye, Sons; O were I able
To waſte it all myſelf, and leave ye none!
So diſinherited how would you bleſs
Me now your curſe! Ah, why ſhould all mankind
For one man's fault thus guiltleſs be condemn'd,

If

places of their works, that they have little elſe to ſupport them.

813.——*Ay me, that fear* &c.] This is ſomewhat like the famous ſoliloquy of Hamlet, Act III.

Ay, there's the rub *&c.*

——*that fear*
Comes thund'ring back with dread-
ful revolution
On my defenſeleſs head;] The thought is fine as it is natural. The ſinner may invent never ſo many arguments in favor of the annihilation and utter extinction of the ſoul; but after all his ſubterfuges and evaſions, the fear of a future ſtate and the dread of everlaſting puniſhment will ſtill purſue him: he may put it off for a time, but it will return *with dreadful revolution*; and let him affect what ſerenity and gaiety he pleaſes, will notwithſtanding in the midſt of it all *come thund'ring back on his defenſeleſs head.*

815. ——*both Death and I*
Am found eternal,] This muſt be the printer's blunder, though all editions patronize it. All languages agree, that when ſingular and plural are ſo join'd, the latter muſt govern. He gave it therefore,

——both Death and I
Are found eternal. *Bentley.*

816.—*and*

If guiltleſs? But from me what can proceed,
But all corrupt, both mind and will deprav'd
Not to do only, but to will the ſame
With me? how can they then acquitted ſtand
In ſight of God? Him after all diſputes
Forc'd I abſolve: all my evaſions vain,
And reaſonings, though through mazes, lead me ſtill
But to my own conviction: firſt and laſt
On me, me only, as the ſource and ſpring
Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
So might the wrath. Fond wiſh! couldſt thou ſupport
That burden heavier than the earth to bear,
Than all the world much heavier, though divided
With that bad Woman? Thus what thou deſir'ſt

And

816.——*and incorporate both,*] Lodged both together in one mortal body, as St. Paul ſays, Rom. VII. 20. *Oh wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* Hume.

817. *Nor I in my part ſingle, in me all*
Poſterity ſtands curs'd:] And this curſe was the *patrimony* which he was to leave his ſons. The author had in view 2 Eſdr. VII. 48. *O thou Adam what haſt thou done? for though it was thou that ſinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.*

825. *But all corrupt,*] For as Job ſays XIV. 4. *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

834. *So might the wrath.*] *So* is uſed in the ſenſe of wiſhing, as in III. 34.

So were I equal'd with them in renown.

835.——*heavier than the earth to bear,*
Than all the world much heavier,] We quote this only that the reader may obſerve the beautiful turn of the words, *heavier* the firſt in one line and the laſt in the other: and that *much* is well thrown in, and raiſes the ſenſe greatly; the *burden*

And what thou fear'ſt, alike deſtroys all hope
Of refuge, and concludes thee miſerable
Beyond all paſt example and future,
To Satan only like both crime and doom.
O Conſcience, into what abyſs of fears
And horrors haſt thou driv'n me; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!
Thus Adam to himſelf lamented loud
Through the ſtill night, not now, as ere Man fell
Wholeſome and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
Which to his evil conſcience repreſented

All

is not only *heavier than the earth to bear*, it is *heavier than all the world*, nay it is *much heavier*.

840. *Beyond all paſt example and future,*] As Adam is here ſpeaking in great agonies of mind, he aggravates his own miſery, and concludes it to be greater and worſe than that of the fallen Angels or all future men, as having in himſelf alone the ſource of miſery for all his poſterity, whereas both Angels and Men had only their own to bear. Satan was only like him, as being the ring-leader, and this added very much to his remorſe as we read in I. 605. The accent upon the word *future* is indeed very uncommon, but it is the Latin accent, and there is a like inſtance in Fairfax's Taſſo, Cant. 17. St. 88.

But not by art or ſkill, of things future
Can the plain troth revealed be and told.

There is no occaſion then to read, as ſome have propos'd,

Beyond all paſt example, and future *too*,

or as others,

Beyond all paſt example, and *all* future.

846. *Through the ſtill night,*] We can hardly ſuppoſe this to be the night immediately after the fall; for *that night* Satan overheard Adam and Eve diſcourſing together, ver. 341.

——return'd

All things with double terror: on the ground
Outſtretch'd he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Curs'd his creation, death as oft accus'd
Of tardy execution, ſince denounc'd
The day of his offenſe. Why comes not death,
Said he, with one thrice acceptable ſtroke
To end me? ſhall truth fail to keep her word,
Juſtice divine not haſten to be juſt?
But death comes not at call, juſtice divine
Mends not her ſloweſt place for pray'rs or cries.
O woods, O fountains, hillocs, dales and bowers,
With other echo late I taught your ſhades

To

By night, and liſt'ning where the hapleſs pair
Sat in their ſad diſcourſe, and various plaint,
Thence gather'd his own doom;

and the next morning, *while the ſun in Aries roſe*, ver. 329. he met Sin and Death in their way to earth; they diſcourſe together, and it was after Sin and Death were arriv'd in Paradiſe, that the Almighty made that ſpeech from ver. 616. to ver. 641. and after that the Angels are order'd to make the changes in nature: ſo that this, we conceive, muſt be ſome other night than that immediately after the fall.

854.—*why comes not death,—*
But death comes not at call,] Sophocles Philoctetes, 793.

Ω θαναλε, θαναλε, πως απι καλουμενω
Ουτω κατ' ημαρ, ω δυνη μολειν πολι;

859 ——*her ſloweſt pace*] Pede pœna claudo. Hor. Od. III. II. 32. The moſt beautiful paſſages commonly want the feweſt notes: and for the beauties of this paſſage, we are ſure, the reader muſt not only perceive them, but muſt really feel them, if he has any feeling at all. Nothing in all the ancient tragedies is more moving and pathetic.

860. *O woods, O fountains, hillocs, dales and bowers,*
With other echo late I taught your ſhades
To anſwer, and reſound far other ſong.] Alluding to this part of Adam's morning hymn, V. 202.

To anſwer, and reſound far other ſong.
Whom thus afflicted when ſad Eve beheld,
Deſolate where ſhe ſat, approaching nigh,
Soft words to his fierce paſſion ſhe aſſay'd:
But her with ſtern regard he thus repell'd.

Out of my ſight, thou Serpent; that name beſt
Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyſelf as falſe
And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy ſhape,
Like his, and color ſerpentine may ſhow
Thy inward fraud, to warn all creatures from thee
Henceforth; leſt that too heav'nly form, pretended
To helliſh falſhood, ſnare them. But for thee
I had perſiſted happy', had not thy pride

And

Witneſs if I be ſilent, morn or even,
To hill, or valley, fountain or freſh ſhade
Made vocal by my ſong, and taught his praiſe. *Thyer.*

863. *Whom thus afflicted when ſad Eve beheld*, &c.] The part of Eve in this book is no leſs paſſionate and apt to ſway the reader in her favor. She is repreſented with great tenderneſs as approaching Adam, but is ſpurn'd from him with a ſpirit of upbraiding and indignation, conformable to the nature of Man, whoſe paſſions had now gained the dominion over him. The following paſſage, wherein ſhe is deſcribed as renewing her addreſſes to him, with the whole ſpeech that follows it, have ſomething in them exquiſitely moving and pathetic:

He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve &c.

Adam's reconcilement to her is work'd up in the ſame ſpirit of tenderneſs. Eve afterwards propoſes to her huſband, in the blindneſs of her deſpair, that to prevent their guilt from deſcending upon poſterity they ſhould reſolve to live childleſs; or if that could not be done, they ſhould ſeek their own deaths by violent methods. As thoſe ſentiments naturally engage the reader to regard the mother of mankind with more

And wand'ring vanity, when leaſt was ſafe,
Rejected my forewarning, and diſdain'd
Not to be truſted, longing to be ſeen
Though by the Dev'il himſelf, him overweening
To over-reach, but with the ſerpent meeting
Fool'd and beguil'd, by him thou, I by thee,
To truſt thee from my ſide, imagin'd wiſe,
Conſtant, mature, proof againſt all aſſaults,
And underſtood not all was but a ſhow
Rather than ſolid virtue,' all but a rib
Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,
More to the part ſiniſter, from me drawn,
Well if thrown out, as ſupernumary

To

more than ordinary commiſeration, they likewiſe contain a very fine moral. The reſolution of dying to end our miſeries, does not ſhow ſuch a degree of magnanimity as a reſolution to bear them, and ſubmit to the diſpenſations of Providence. Our author has therefore, with great delicacy, repreſented Eve as entertaining this thought, and Adam as diſapproving it. *Addiſon.*

872.—*left that too heav'nly form, pretended*
To helliſh falſhood, ſnare them.] Dr. Bentley chooſes rather *obtended:* but in Engliſh the word *obtended* is at leaſt as unuſual, as the ſenſe here of *pretended* is. *Pretended to* ſignifies here, as in the Latin tongue, *held* or *plac'd before;* ſo we have in Virgil's Georg. I. 270. ſegeti *prætendere* ſepem; and in Æn. VI. 60. *prætentaque* Syrtibus arva. So Pliny in his Epiſtles, Lib. 1. Ep. 16. ſays, nec deſidiæ noſtræ *prætendamus* alienam. *Pearce.*

Pretended to, held before. So Milton himſelf explains this phraſe, p. 809. Tol. Edit. —— but eccleſiaſtical is ever *pretended* to political. Thus Quintil. Pref. to L. 1. Vultum et triſtitiam et diſſentientem a cæteris habitum peſſimis moribus *prætendebant*, ſpeaking of the falſe philoſophers. *Richardſon.*

883. *And underſtood not*] The conſtruction is *I was fool'd and beguil'd by thee, and underſtood not* &c.

To my juſt number found. O why did God,
Creator wiſe, that peopled higheſt Heaven
With Spirits maſculine, create at laſt
This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of nature, and not fill the world at once
With Men as Angels without feminine,
Or find ſome other way to generate
Mankind? this miſchief had not then befall'n,
And

888. *To my juſt number found.*] The *juſt number* of ribs in a man is twenty-four, twelve on each ſide, though ſometimes there have been found thoſe who have had thirteen as Galen ſays, and very rarely ſome who have had but eleven, as Tho. Bartholinus, a famous phyſician, obſerved, in a luſty ſtrong man whom he diſſected in the year 1657, who had but eleven on one ſide, and a ſmall appearance of a twelfth on the other. Hiſt. Anatom. & Medic. Centur. 5. c. 1. But ſome writers have been of opinion that Adam had thirteen ribs on the left ſide, and that out of the thirteenth rib God formed Eve: and it is to this opinion that Milton here alludes, and makes Adam ſay, It was *well* if this rib was *thrown out, as ſupernumerary to his juſt number.*

888.——*O why did God,* &c.] This thought was originally of Euripides, who makes Hippolytus in like manner expoſtulate with Jupiter for not creating man without women. See Hippol. 616.

Ω Ζευ, τι δη κιβδηλον ανθρωποις κακον,
Γυναικας, εις φως ηλιω καλωκαισας;
Ει γαρ βροτειον ηθελες σπειραι γενος,
Ουκ εκ γυναικων χρην παρασχεσθαι τοδε. &c.

And Jaſon is made to talk in the ſame ſtrain in Medea, 573.

——χρην γαρ αλλοθεν ποθην βροτους
Παιδας τεκνουσθαι, θηλυ δ' εκ ειναι γενος,
Ουτω δ' αν εκ ην ουδεν ανθρωποις κακον.

And ſuch ſentiments as theſe, we ſuppoſe, procur'd Euripides the name of the Woman-hater. Arioſto however hath ventur'd upon the ſame in Rodomont's invective againſt women. Orlando Furioſo, Cant. 27. St. 120.

Perche fatto non ha l'alma Natura
Che ſenza te poteſſe naſcer l'huomo,
Come s'ineſta per umana cura,
L'un ſopra l'altro il pero, il ſorbo,
e'l pomo?

Why

And more that ſhall befall, innumerable
Diſturbances on earth through female ſnares,
And ſtrait conjunction with this ſex: for either
He never ſhall find out fit mate, but ſuch
As ſome misfortune brings him, or miſtake;
Or whom he wiſhes moſt ſhall ſeldom gain
Through her perverſeneſs, but ſhall ſee her gain'd
By a far worſe, or if ſhe love, withheld

By

Why did not Nature rather ſo provide
Without your help, that man of man might come,
And one be grafted on another's ſide,
As are the apples with the pear and plome? Harrington. St. 97.

Nor are ſimilar examples wanting among our Engliſh authors. Sir Thomas Brown in the ſecond part of his *Religio Medici*. Sect. 9. has ſomething very curious to this purpoſe, which no doubt Milton had read, that work having been firſt publiſh'd in the year 1642, about twenty-five years before Paradiſe Loſt. Shakeſpear makes Poſthumus cry out in reſentment of Imogen's behaviour, Cymbeline, Act II. which we are ſure that our author had read,

Is there no way for men to be, but women
Muſt be half-workers?

And the complaints which Adam makes of the diſaſters of love may be compared with what Shakeſpear's Lyſander ſays in the Midſummer Night's Dream, Act I.

The courſe of true love never did run ſmooth;
But either it was different in blood,
Or elſe miſgraffed in reſpect of years,
Or elſe it ſtood upon the choice of friends,
Or if there were a ſympathy in choice,
War, death, or ſickneſs did lay ſiege to it &c.

898. ——*for either*
He never ſhall find out fit mate, &c.] I have often thought, it was great pity that Adam's ſpeech had not ended where theſe lines begin. The ſenſe is quite complete without them; and they ſeem much fitter for a digreſſional obſervation of the author's, ſuch as his panegyric on marriage, &c. than to be put into the mouth of Adam, who could not very naturally be ſuppoſed at that time to foreſee ſo very circumſtantially

By parents; or his happieſt choice too late
Shall meet, already link'd and wedlock-bound
To a fell adverſary,' his hate or ſhame:
Which infinite calamity ſhall cauſe
To human life, and houſhold peace confound.
He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve
Not ſo repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing
And treſſes all diſorder'd, at his feet
Fell humble, and embracing them, beſought
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.
Forſake me not thus, Adam, witneſs Heaven
What love ſincere, and reverence in my heart
I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
Unhappily deceiv'd; thy ſuppliant
I beg, and claſp thy knees; bereave me not,
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
Thy counſel in this uttermoſt diſtreſs,

My

tially the inconveniencies attending our *ſtrait conjunction with this ſex*, as he expreſſes it. *Thyer.*

916. —— *and unweeting have offended,*] Spenſer, Faery Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 45.

As all *unweeting* of that well ſhe knew. *Thyer.*

925. —— *one enmity*] There is ſomething not improbable in Dr. Bentley's reading,

——both joining
As join'd in injuries, *in* enmity:

but perhaps the author put *one* in oppoſition to *both*; *both* joining *one* enmity.

916. *Againſt*

My only ſtrength and ſtay: forlorn of thee,
Whither ſhall I betake me, where ſubſiſt?
While yet we live, ſcarce one ſhort hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace, both joining,
As join'd in injuries, one enmity
Againſt a foe by doom expreſs aſſign'd us,
That cruel Serpent: On me exerciſe not
Thy hatred for this miſery befall'n,
On me already loſt, me than thyſelf
More miſerable; both have ſinn'd, but thou
Againſt God only,' I againſt God and thee,
And to the place of judgment will return,
There with my cries importune Heav'n, that all
The ſentence from thy head remov'd may light
On me, ſole cauſe to thee of all this woe,
Me, me only, juſt object of his ire.
She ended weeping, and her lowly plight,
Immove-

926. *Againſt a foe by doom expreſs aſſign'd us,*] For it was part of the ſentence, pronounc'd upon the Serpent, Gen. III. 15. *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed.*

936. *Me, me only, juſt object*] The repetition of *me me* here is like what we took notice of in III. 236. and like that in Virgil's Æn. IX. 427.

Me, me, adſum qui feci, in *me* convertite ferrum:

and like Abigail's ſpeech to David, 1 Sam. XXV. 24. *Upon me, my Lord, upon me let this iniquity be.* Dr. Bentley would read,

Me,

Immoveable till peace obtain'd from fault
Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought
Commiſeration; ſoon his heart relented
Tow'ards her, his life ſo late and ſole delight,
Now at his feet ſubmiſſive in diſtreſs,
Creature ſo fair his reconcilement ſeeking,
His counſel, whom ſhe had diſpleas'd, his aid;
As one diſarm'd, his anger all he loſt,
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her ſoon.
Unwary', and too deſirous, as before,
So now of what thou know'ſt not, who deſir'ſt
The

Me, only me, juſt object of his ire:

but as the repetition is highly pathetic, Mr. Upton thinks the trochaic following the ſpondee makes the pathos more perceptible.

940. —— *ſoon his heart relented*] This ſeems to have been drawn from a domeſtic ſcene. Milton's wife ſoon after marriage went to viſit her friends in Oxfordſhire, and refuſed to return at the time appointed: He often ſolicited her, but in vain: ſhe declar'd her reſolution not to cohabit with him any more. Upon this he wrote his *Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce*, and to ſhow that he was in earneſt was actually treating about a ſecond marriage, when the wife contriv'd to meet him at a friend's whom he often viſited, and there fell proſtrate before him, imploring forgiveneſs and reconciliation. It is not to be doubted (ſays Mr. Fenton) but an interview of that natute, ſo little expected, muſt wonderfully affect him: and perhaps the impreſſions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetic ſcene in Paradiſe Loſt, in which Eve addreſſeth herſelf to Adam for pardon and peace. At the interceſſion of his friends who were preſent, after a ſhort reluctance he generouſly ſacrific'd all his reſentment to her tears:

——ſoon his heart relented
Tow'ards her, his life ſo late and
ſole delight,

Now

The puniſhment all on thyſelf; alas,
Bear thine own firſt, ill able to ſuſtain
His full wrath, whoſe thou feel'ſt as yet leaſt part,
And my diſpleaſure bear'ſt ſo ill. If prayers
Could alter high decrees, I to that place
Would ſpeed before thee, and be louder heard,
That on my head all might be viſited,
Thy frailty and infirmer ſex forgiven,
To me committed and by me expos'd.
But riſe, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blam'd enough elſewhere, but ſtrive

In

Now at his feet ſubmiſſive in diſtreſs.

Mr. Thyer thus farther inlarges upon the ſame ſubject. "This picture of Eve's diſtreſs, her ſubmiſſive tender addreſs to her huſband, and his generous reconcilement to her are extremely beautiful, I had almoſt ſaid beyond any thing in the whole poem; and that reader muſt have a very ſour and unfriendly turn of mind, whoſe heart does not *relent* with Adam's, and melt into a ſympathizing commiſeration towards the mother of mankind; ſo well has our author here follow'd Horace's advice,

—Si vis me flere, dolendum eſt
Primùm ipſi tibi—
Art. Poet. 102.

"Milton with great depth of judgment obſerves in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, that *he who would not be fruſtrate of his hope to write well in laudable things, ought himſelf to be a true poem, that is, a compoſition of the beſt and honorableſt things,—and have in himſelf the experience and practice of all that which is praiſe-worthy*: of the truth of which obſervation he himſelf is, I think, a ſhining inſtance in this charming ſcene now before us, ſince there is little room to doubt but that the particular beauties of it are owing to an interview of the ſame nature which he had with his own wife, and that he is only here deſcribing thoſe tender and generous ſentiments, which he then felt and *experienc'd*."

976. *Tend-*

In offices of love, how we may lighten
Each other's burden, in our ſhare of woe;
Since this day's death denounc'd, if ought I ſee,
Will prove no ſudden, but a ſlow-pac'd evil,
A long day's dying to augment our pain,
And to our ſeed (O hapleſs ſeed!) deriv'd.
To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, reply'd.
Adam, by ſad experiment I know
How little weight my words with thee can find,
Found ſo erroneous, thence by juſt event
Found ſo unfortunate; nevertheleſs,
Reſtor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
Thy love, the ſole contentment of my heart
Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
What thoughts in my unquiet breaſt are riſen,
Tending

976. *Tending to ſome relief of our extremes,*

Or end,] Adam had ſaid before, that the *death denounc'd* upon them, as far as he could *ſee*, would *prove no ſudden but a ſlow-pac'd evil, a long day's dying*, and would likewiſe be *deriv'd* to their poſterity. Eve therefore propoſes, to prevent its being *deriv'd* to their poſterity, that they ſhould reſolve to *remain childleſs*; or if they found it difficult to do ſo, that then, to prevent *a long day's dying* to themſelves and ſeed at once, they ſhould *make ſhort* and deſtroy themſelves. The former method ſhe conſiders as *ſome relief of their extremes*, the latter as the *end*. And as Dr. Greenwood obſerves, Milton might poſſibly take the hint of putting theſe propoſals into the mouth of Eve, from Job's wife attempting to perſuade her huſband in his afflictions

Tending to ſome relief of our extremes,
Or end, though ſharp and ſad, yet tolerable,
As in our evils, and of eaſier choice.
If care of our deſcent perplex us moſt,
Which muſt be born to certain woe, devour'd
By Death at laſt; and miſerable it is
To be to others cauſe of miſery,
Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
Into this curſed world a woful race,
That after wretched life muſt be at laſt
Food for ſo foul a monſter; in thy power
It lies, yet ere conception to prevent
The race unbleſt, to be'ing yet unbegot:
Childleſs thou art, childleſs remain: ſo Death
Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two
Be forc'd to ſatisfy his ravenous maw.

But

fictions to *curſe God and die.* Job II. 9, 10.

978. *As in our evils,*] That is conſidering the exceſs of evil to which we are reduc'd; an elegant Latin uſe of the word *As.* Cic. Epiſt. Fam. IV. 9. Nam adhuc, et factum tuum probatur, et, *ut in tali re,* etiam fortuna laudatur XII. 2. Non nihil, *ut in tantis malis,* eſt profectum, that is, conſidering our ill ſituation. *Richardſon.*

989. *Childleſs thou art, childleſs remain:*] It is a ſtrange miſtake in ſome editions, and eſpecially in Milton's own, where this imperfect verſe is printed as a whole verſe, and the words *ſo Death* wanting to complete the line are added to the next line, which is thereby made as much too long as this is too

But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Converſing, looking, loving, to abſtain
From love's due rites, nuptial embraces ſweet,
And with deſire to languiſh without hope,
Before the preſent object languiſhing
With like deſire, which would be miſery
And torment leſs than none of what we dread;
Then both ourſelves and ſeed at once to free
From what we fear for both, let us make ſhort,
Let us ſeek Death, or he not found, ſupply
With our own hands his office on ourſelves:
Why ſtand we longer ſhivering under fears,
That ſhow no end but death, and have the power,
Of many ways to die the ſhorteſt chooſing,
Deſtruction with deſtruction to deſtroy?
She ended here, or vehement deſpair
Broke

too ſhort. *So Death ſhall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two.*

1004. ——*and have the power,*
Of many ways to die the ſhorteſt
chooſing,
Deſtruction with deſtruction to de-
ſtroy?] So theſe verſes are pointed in Milton's original editions; and the conſtruction is this, *and have the power to deſtroy deſtruction with deſtruction, chooſing the ſhorteſt of many ways to die.* Mr. Fenton and Dr. Bentley have taken away the comma after *power*, and have put the one a comma, and the other a ſemicolon after *to die:* but *of many ways to die*, is not to be join'd in conſtruction with *the pow'r, and have the pow'r of many ways to die*; but is to be join'd in conſtruction with *the ſhorteſt, chooſing the ſhorteſt of many ways to die:* and this makes better

Broke off the reſt; ſo much of death her thoughts
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.
But Adam with ſuch counſel nothing ſway'd
To better hopes his more attentive mind
Lab'ring had rais'd, and thus to Eve reply'd.
Eve, thy contempt of life and pleaſure ſeems
To argue in thee ſomething more ſublime
And excellent than what thy mind contemns;
But ſelf-deſtruction therefore ſought, refutes
That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguiſh and regret
For loſs of life and pleaſure overlov'd.
Or if thou covet death, as utmoſt end
Of miſery, ſo thinking to evade
The penalty pronounc'd, doubt not but God
Hath wiſelier arm'd his vengeful ire than ſo

To

better ſenſe and grammar than can be with any other punctuation.

1007. *She ended here——*
—ſo much of death her thoughts
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.] Virg. Æn. IV. 499.

Hæc effata ſilet: pallor ſimul occupat ora. *Fortin.*

——maculiſque trementes
Interfuſa genas, et pallida morte futurâ. Æn. IV. 644.

——Multorum palor in ore
Mortis venturæ eſt, facieſque ſimillima fato. Luc. VII. 130. *Hume.*

1011.—*his more attentive mind*] Attending more to what had paſſed, calling

To be foreſtall'd; much more I fear leſt death
So ſnatch'd will not exempt us from the pain
We are by doom to pay; rather ſuch acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Higheſt
To make death in us live: Then let us ſeek
Some ſafer reſolution, which methinks
I have in view, calling to mind with heed
Part of our ſentence, that thy ſeed ſhall bruiſe
The Serpent's head; piteous amends, unleſs
Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe
Satan, who in the ſerpent hath contriv'd
Againſt us this deceit: to cruſh his head
Would be revenge indeed; which will be loſt
By death brought on ourſelves, or childleſs days
Reſolv'd as thou propoſeſt; ſo our foe
Shall 'ſcape his puniſhment ordain'd, and we
Inſtead ſhall double ours upon our heads.
No more be mention'd then of violence
Againſt ourſelves, and wilful barrenneſs,

That

calling to mind with heed their *ſentence*, as it is ver. 1030.

1024. *To be foreſtall'd*;] This word appears too low for heroic poetry: it might not be ſo trite and vulgar formerly; for Fairfax likewiſe uſes it in his Jeruſalem, Cant. 15. St. 47.

But

That cuts us off from hope, and ſavors only
Rancor and pride, impatience and deſpite,
Reluctance againſt God and his juſt yoke
Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd
Without wrath or reviling; we expected
Immediate diſſolution, which we thought
Was meant by death that day, when lo, to thee
Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth, ſoon recompens'd with joy,
Fruit of thy womb: on me the curſe aſlope
Glanc'd on the ground; with labor I muſt earn
My bread; what harm? Idleneſs had been worſe;
My labor will ſuſtain me; and leſt cold
Or heat ſhould injure us, his timely care
Hath unbeſought provided, and his hands
Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd;
How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pity' incline,

And

But forth there crept (from whence I cannot ſay)
An ugly ſerpent, which *foreſtall'd* their way.

1054. *Glanc'd on the ground*; The quibble here is inſufferable. *Warburton.*

And teach us further by what means to ſhun
Th' inclement ſeaſons, rain, ice, hail and ſnow?
Which now the ſky with various face begins
To ſhow us in this mountain, while the winds
Blow moiſt and keen, ſhattering the graceful locks
Of theſe fair ſpreading trees; which bids us ſeek
Some better ſhroud, ſome better warmth to cheriſh
Our lips benumm'd, ere this diurnal ſtar
Leave cold the night, how we his gather'd beams
Reflected, may with matter ſere foment
Or by colliſion of two bodies grind

The

1066.——*ſhattering the graceful locks*] This *ſhattering* is an excellent word, and very expreſſive of the ſenſe, ſhaking or breaking to pieces; and etymologiſts derive it of the Belgic *Schetteren*. Our author had uſed it before in his Lycidas,

Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.

And *locks of trees* is a Latiniſm: Spiſſæ nemorum comæ, Hor. Od. IV. III. 11. Arboribuſque comæ, IV. VII. 2.

1069. —*ere this diurnal ſtar*
Leave cold the night,] The *diurnal ſtar* is the ſtar of day, the ſun, as in Lycidas,

So ſinks the *day ſtar* in the ocean bed:

So that this is ſpoken as if it was now day, whereas it was *night* a little before. See ver. 846. And after *Leave cold the night* there ſhould be only a comma as in Milton's own editions, and not a colon as in Dr. Bentley's; for *how we his gather'd beams* &c. ſtill refers to *which bids us ſeek*.

1071.—*with matter ſere foment,*] *Sere* ξηρος (Greek) dry: according to Virgil's exact deſcription, Æn. I. 175.

Suſcepitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum
Nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam. *Hume.*

I find the word *ſere* uſed likewiſe by Spenſer in his Shepherd's Calendar, Ecl. II.

His

The air attrite to fire, as late the clouds
Juſtling or puſh'd with winds rude in their ſhock
Tine the ſlant lightning, whoſe thwart flame driv'n down
Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine,
And ſends a comfortable heat from far,
Which might ſupply the ſun: ſuch fire to uſe,
And what may elſe be remedy or cure
To evils which our own miſdeeds have wrought,
He will inſtruct us praying, and of grace
Beſeeching him, ſo as we need not fear

To

His top was bald, and waſted with worms,
His honor decay'd, his branches *ſere.*

And again,

How falls it then that tihs faded oak,
Whoſe body is *ſere*, whoſe branches broke.

And by our author in his Lycidas,

——with ivy never *ſere*

1072. *Or by colliſion of two bodies grind*
The air attrite to fire, as late the clouds &c.] Our poet had Lucretius here in mind, and plainly alludes to his account of the origin of fire, V. 1091.

Fulmen detulit in terras mortalibus ignem
Primitus: inde omnis flammarum diditur ardor.
Multa videmus enim cœleſtibus incita flammis
Fulgere, quam cœli donavit plaga vapores, *&c.*

Now for the riſe of fire: Swift thunder thrown
From broken ſulphurous clouds firſt brought it down;
For many things take fire: when lightning flies,
And ſulphurous vapors fill the lower ſkies; *&c.* Creech.

1075. *Tine the ſlant lightning,*] To *tine* is deriv'd from the Saxon *tynan* to light, to kindle; from whence alſo we have the word *tinder.*

To paſs commodiouſly this life, ſuſtain'd
By him with many comforts, till we end
In duſt, our final reſt and native home.
What better can we do, than to the place
Rapairing where he judg'd us, proſtrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confeſs
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
Watering the ground, and with our ſighs the air
Frequenting, ſent from hearts contrite, in ſign
Of ſorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent and turn
From his diſpleaſure; in whoſe look ſerene
When angry moſt he ſeem'd and moſt ſevere,
What elſe but favor, grace, and mercy ſhone?
So ſpake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt leſs remorſe: they forthwith to the place
Repairing

1092. — *and humiliation meek?*] I believe he gave it,

——and humiliation *meet:*

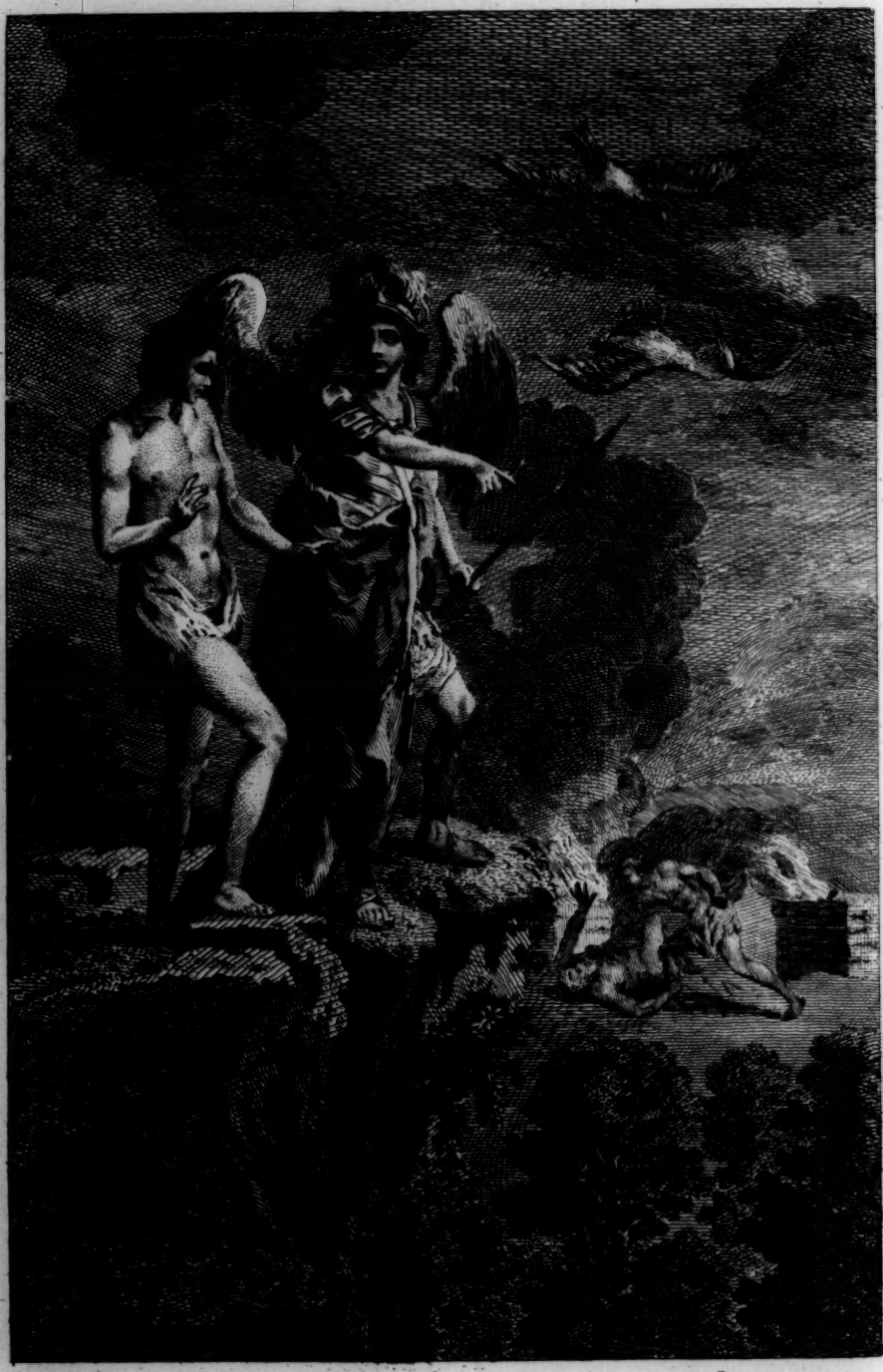
and ſo in the laſt verſe. But note that the laſt ſeven verſes, being a repetition of the former, mood and tenſe only of the verbs chang'd, is an imitation of Homer and Virgil; and ſhows an aſſurance in the poet, that what was once well ſaid will bear repeating; and has the true air both of ſimplicity and grandeur. *Bentley.*

Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *meet:* but I believe not. He ſeems to think that *meek humiliation* is tautology; but *humiliation* here is not *humility:* it is the act of humbling themſelves before God. We have *meek ſubmiſſion* in XII. 597. *Pearce.*

Répairing where he judg'd them, proſtrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confeſs'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their ſighs the air
Frequenting, ſent from hearts contrite, in ſign
Of ſorrow' unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

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PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Son of God preſents to his Father the prayers of our firſt parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they muſt no longer abide in Paradiſe; ſends Michael with a band of Cherubim to diſpoſſeſs them; but firſt to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down. Adam ſhews to Eve certain ominous ſigns; he diſcerns Michael's approach, goes out to meet him; the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's Lamentation. Adam pleads, but ſubmits: The Angel leads him up to a high hill, ſets before him in viſion what ſhall happen till the flood.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI.

THUS they in loweſt plight repentant ſtood
Praying, for from the mercy-ſeat above
Pre-

1. *Thus they in loweſt plight* &c.] Milton has ſhown a wonderful art in deſcribing that variety of paſſions, which ariſe in our firſt parents upon the breach of the commandment that had been given them. We ſee them gradually paſſing from the triumph of their guilt through remorſe, ſhame, deſpair, contrition, prayer and hope, to a perfect and complete repentance. At the end of the tenth book they are repreſented as proſtrating themſelves upon the ground, and watering the earth with their tears: to which the poet joins this beautiful circumſtance, that they offered up their penitential prayers on the very place where their judge appeared to them when he pronounced their ſentence. There is a beauty of the ſame kind in a tragedy of Sophocles, where Œdipus, after having put out his own eyes, inſtead of breaking his neck from the palace-battlements (which furniſhes ſo elegant an entertainment for our Engliſh audience) deſires that he may be conducted to mount Cithæron, in order to end his life in that very place where he was expoſed in his infancy, and where he ſhould then have died, had the will of his parents been executed. As the author never fails to give a poetical turn to his ſentiments, he deſcribes in the beginning of this book the acceptance which theſe their prayers met with, in a ſhort allegory form'd upon that beautiful paſſage in holy Writ: (Rev. VIII. 3. 4.) *And another Angel came and ſtood at the altar, having a golden cenſer; and there was given unto him much incenſe, that he ſhould offer it with the prayers of all ſaints upon the golden altar which was before the throne: and the ſmoke of the incenſe, which came with the prayers of the ſaints, aſcended up before God.* We have the ſame thought expreſs'd a ſecond time in the interceſſion of the Meſſiah, which is conceiv'd in very emphatic ſentiments and expreſſions. *Addiſon.*

1. ——*repentant ſtood*
Praying,] Dr. Bentley thinks that the author intended it *repentant kneel'd*, becauſe it is ſaid in ver. 150, and in X. 1099, that they *kneel'd* and *fell proſtrate:* But *ſtood* here has no other ſenſe than that of the noun ſubſtantive *were.* So in II. 55. *ſtand in arms* ſignifies *are in arms.* In the ſame ſenſe *ſtetit* and ἔστηκε are often uſed by the Latins and Greeks. See my note on II. 56. *Pearce.*
Stood here and in ver. 14. hath no relation to the poſture, but to the act itſelf, and the continuance of it.

Standing

Prevenient grace deſcending had remov'd
The ſtony from their hearts, and made new fleſh
Regenerate grow inſtead, that ſighs now breath'd
Unutterable, which the Spi'rit of prayer
Inſpir'd, and wing'd for Heav'n with ſpeedier flight
Than loudeſt oratory: yet their port
Not of mean ſuitors, nor important leſs
Seem'd

Standing in arms is not only being armed or having armour on, but being in arms with a determin'd reſolution not to lay them down without endevoring to attain ſome end propoſed. Thus *ſtood praying* means, not only that they prayed or were praying, but that they perſevered in their devotions, and as the Apoſtle expreſſes it, *continued inſtant in prayer*, in the humble poſtures of ſometimes *kneeling* and ſometimes *falling proſtrate*. Greenwood.

5. —*that ſighs now breath'd Unutterable,*] That ſighs unexpreſſible burſt forth, which God's Holy Spirit, the Spirit of ſupplication and interceſſion, breath'd into them, and wafted up to Heaven with nimbler ſpeed, than the moſt audible and loudeſt oration could ever reach: According to St. Paul, Rom. VIII. 26. *Likewiſe the Spirit alſo helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we ſhould pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itſelf maketh interceſſion for us with groanings which cannot be utter'd.* Hume.

8.—*yet their port* &c.] This *yet* refers ſo far back as to line the firſt, *Thus they in loweſt plight repentant ſtood praying, yet their port not of mean ſuiters*, all the intermediate lines being to be underſtood as in a parentheſis. *Nor did their petition ſeem of leſs importance, than when the ancient pair* ſo renown'd *in old fables, yet not ſo ancient a pair as Adam and Eve, Deucalion and chaſte Pyrrha*, in order *to reſtore the race of mankind after the deluge, ſtood devoutly praying before the ſhrine of Themis*, the Goddeſs of juſtice, who had the moſt famous oracle of thoſe days. The poet could not have thought of a more apt ſimilitude to illuſtrate his ſubject, and he has plainly fetch'd it from Ovid, Met. I. 318.

Hic ubi Deucalion (nam cætera texerat æquor)
Cum conſorte tori parvâ rate vectus adhæſit;
Corycidas Nymphas et numina montis adorant,
Fatidicamque Themin, quæ tunc orâcla tenebat.
Non illo melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit, aut illâ metuentior ulla Deorum.——
Atque ita, Si precibus, dixerunt, numina juſtis
Victa remolleſcunt, ſi flectitur ira Deorum;

Dic,

Seem'd their petition, than when th' ancient pair
In fables old, leſs ancient yet than theſe,
Deucalion and chaſte Pyrrha, to reſtore
The race of mankind drown'd, before the ſhrine
Of Themis ſtood devout. To Heav'n their prayers
Flew up, nor miſs'd the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond or fruſtrate: in they paſs'd

Dimen-

Dic, Themi, qua generis damnum reparabile noſtri
Arte ſit: et merſis fer opem, mitiſſima, rebus.

High on the ſummit of this dubious cliff,
Deucalion wafting, moor'd his little ſkiff.
He with his wife were only left behind
Of periſh'd man; they two were human kind.
The Mountain-Nymphs, and Themis they adore,
And from her oracles relief implore.
The moſt upright of mortal men was he,
The moſt ſincere and holy woman ſhe.——
O righteous Themis, if the Pow'rs above
By pray'rs are bent to pity and to love;
If human miſeries can move their mind;
If yet they can forgive, and yet be kind;
Tell how we may reſtore, by ſecond birth,
Mankind, and people deſolated earth. Dryden.

Milton has been often cenſur'd for his frequent alluſions to the Heathen mythology, and for mixing fables with ſacred truths: but it may be obſerved in favor of him, that what he borrows from the Heathen mythology, he commonly applies only by way of ſimilitude; and a ſimilitude from thence may illuſtrate his ſubject as well as from any thing elſe, eſpecially ſince it is one of the firſt things that we learn at ſchool, and is made by the Ancients ſuch an eſſential part of poetry, that it can hardly be ſeparated from it; and no wonder that Milton was ambitious of ſhowing ſomething of his reading in this kind, as well as in all others.

16. *Blown vagabond or fruſtrate:*] It is a familiar expreſſion with the ancient poets, to ſay of ſuch requeſts as are not granted, that they are diſperſed and driven away by the winds. Thus Virgil, Æn. XI. 794.

Audiit, et voti Phœbus ſuccedere partem
Mente dedit: partem volucres diſperſit in auras.
Sterneret ut ſubitâ turbatam morte Camillam,
Annuit oranti: reducem ut patria alta videret,

Non

Dimenſionleſs through heav'nly doors; then clad
With incenſe, where the golden altar fum'd;
By their great interceſſor, came in ſight
Before the Father's throne: them the glad Son
Preſenting, thus to intercede began.

See, Father, what firſt fruits on earth are ſprung
From thy implanted grace in Man, theſe ſighs
And pray'rs, which in this golden cenſer, mix'd
With incenſe, I thy prieſt before thee bring,
Fruits of more pleaſing ſavor from thy ſeed
Sown with contrition in his heart, than thoſe
Which his own hand manuring all the trees
Of Paradiſe could have produc'd, ere fall'n

From

Non dedit; inque notos vocem vertere procellæ.

Apollo heard, and granting half his pray'r,
Shuffled in winds the reſt, and toſs'd in empty air.
He gives the death deſir'd; his ſafe return,
By ſouthern tempeſts to the ſeas is borne. Dryden.

And it is in alluſion to this manner of ſpeaking, that Milton ſays here of the prayers of our firſt parents, that they were not *by envious winds blown vagabond, or fruſtrate. By envious winds*, as in Ovid Met. X. 642. Detulit aura preces ad me non *invida* blandas.

17. *Dimenſionleſs through heavn'ly doors*;] As theſe prayers were of a ſpiritual nature, not as matter that has dimenſions, meaſure, and proportion, they paſs'd through Heaven's gates without any obſtruction. *Richardſon.*

As Heaven gates are deſcrib'd (VII. 205, &c.) as *ever-during*, and *moving on golden hinges*, and *opening wide* to *let forth and let in the King of Glory*, it might be wonder'd how theſe prayers could paſs thro' them without their opening, and for this reaſon I ſuppoſe the poet added the epithet *dimenſionleſs*. And as he glanc'd before at the Heathen manner of expreſſion in ſaying that their prayers were not *by envious winds blown vagabond or fruſtrate*, ſo here he

From innocence. Now therefore bend thine ear
To ſupplication, hear his ſighs though mute;
Unſkilful with what words to pray, let me
Interpret for him, me his advocate
And propitiation; all his works on me
Good or not good ingraft, my merit thoſe
Shall perfect, and for theſe my death ſhall pay.
Accept me, and in me from theſe receive
The ſmell of peace tow'ard mankind; let him live
Before thee reconcil'd, at leaſt his days
Number'd, though ſad, till death, his doom, (which I
To mitigate thus plead, not to reverſe)
To better life ſhall yield him, where with me

All

he may intend a remote reflection upon that other notion of the Heathens contain'd in the fable of Menippus who was taken up into Heaven, where Jupiter is repreſented as opening a trap-door to hear the requeſts of mankind, and ſhutting it again when he was unwilling to attend to any more petitions.

19.—*came in ſight* &c.] Milton, in this allegorical deſcription of the repentant prayers of our firſt parents, very much exceeds the two great maſters of Italian poetry, Arioſto and Taſſo, who have attempted ſomething in the ſame way. See Carlomagno's prayer in the former, Cant. 14. St. 73 and 74. and in the latter Raimond's prayer, Cant. 7. St. 79. and Godfrey's, Cant. 13. St 72. As the quotations would be too long, we only refer the reader to the places. *Thyer.*

33. ——*me his advocate*
And propitiation;] The conſtruction of the whole paſſage is this, *Let me interpret for him unſkilful with what words to pray* for himſelf, *me his advocate and propitiation*, the very words of St. John, 1 Ep. II. 1, 2. *We have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſins.*

38. *The ſmell of peace tow'ard mankind*;] The peace offering is frequently call'd *an offering of a ſweet ſavor unto the Lord.* So Levit. III. 5. *Heylin.*

44. *Made*

All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliſs,
Made one with me as I with thee am one.
To whom the Father, without cloud, ſerene.
All thy requeſt for Man, accepted Son,
Obtain; all thy requeſt was my decree:
But longer in that Paradiſe to dwell,
The law I gave to nature him forbids:
Thoſe pure immortal elements that know
No groſs, no unharmonious mixture foul,
Eject him tainted now, and purge him off
As a diſtemper, groſs to air as groſs,
And mortal food, as may diſpoſe him beſt
For diſſolution wrought by ſin, that firſt
Diſtemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
Corrupted. I at firſt with two fair gifts
Created him endow'd, with happineſs
And immortality: that fondly loſt,
This other ſerv'd but to eternize woe;
Till I provided death; ſo death becomes
His

44. *Made one with me as I with thee am one.*] *That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee: and the glory which thou gaveſt me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one.* John XVII. 21, 22.

53. ——*groſs to air as groſs,*] *Groſs* is to be join'd in conſtruction with *him* and not with *diſtemper*; and therefore the comma after *diſtemper* ſhould be carefully preſerved, as in Milton's own editions, and not be plac'd after *diſtemper*

His final remedy, and after life
Try'd in ſharp tribulation, and refin'd
By faith and faithful works, to ſecond life,
Wak'd in the renovation of the juſt,
Reſigns him up with Heav'n and Earth renew'd.
But let us call to ſynod all the Bleſt [hide
Through Heav'n's wide bounds; from them I will not
My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed,
As how with peccant Angels late they ſaw,
And in their ſtate, though firm, ſtood more confirm'd.
He ended, and the Son gave ſignal high
To the bright miniſter that watch'd; he blew
His trumpet, heard in Oreb ſince perhaps
When God deſcended, and perhaps once more
To ſound at general doom. Th' angelic blaſt
Fill'd all the regions: from their bliſsful bowers
Of amarantin ſhade, fountain or ſpring,
By the waters of life, where'er they ſat
In fellowſhips of joy, the ſons of light
Haſted,

temper groſs, as in Dr. Bentley's edition.

74. *His trumpet, heard in Oreb ſince perhaps* &c.] For the law was given on mount Oreb with *the noiſe of the trumpet*, Exod. XX. 18. and at the general judgment, according to St. Paul, 1 Theſſ. IV. 16. *the Lord ſhall deſcend from Heaven with a ſhout, with the voice of the Arch-Angel, and with the trump of God.*

78. *Of amarantin ſhade,*] See III. 353. and the note there.

Haſted, reſorting to the ſummons high,
And took their ſeats; till from his throne ſupreme
Th' Almighty thus pronounc'd his ſovran will.

O Sons, like one of us Man is become
To know both good and evil, ſince his taſte
Of that defended fruit; but let him boaſt
His knowledge of good loſt, and evil got,
Happier, had it ſuffic'd him to have known
Good by itſelf, and evil not at all.
He ſorrows now, repents, and prays contrite,
My motions in him; longer than they move,
His heart I know, how variable and vain
Self-left. Leſt therefore his now bolder hand

Reach

82. *And took their ſeats*;] Dr. Bentley ſays that if the poet gave it thus, he had forgot himſelf; for he never makes the Angels to *ſit* round the throne of God: But if he never did elſewhere, he has authority for doing ſo here. I know that it is a maxim with the Schoolmen, *Sola ſedet Trinitas*, that only the three perſons in the Trinity *ſit*: but this is contrary to Scripture; for in Rev. IV. 4. and XI. 16. the four and twenty elders are deſcribed as *ſitting on ſeats round about the throne*. There is no occaſion then to read with the Doctor *and took their ſtand*: eſpecially when it is conſider'd that the idea of *taking* ſuits ſo much better with *ſeats* than *ſtand*. Pearce. The Angels are generally repreſented to be ſtanding, or falling down before the throne of God; becauſe they are generally employed there in acts of praiſe and adoration. But here they are introduced in another character, called to ſynod, like a grand council, or to be as it were *aſſeſſors* with the Almighty, when he was to pronounce his decree on fallen man: and therefore the poet very properly ſays, *they took their ſeats*. And thus our Saviour tells the Apoſtles, *they ſhall ſit upon twelve thrones* as his aſſeſſors, *judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*. Mat. XIX. 28. *Greenwood*.

84. *O Sons*, &c.] The aſſembling of all the Angels of Heaven, to hear the ſolemn decree paſſed upon Man, is repreſented in very lively ideas.

The

Reach alſo of the tree of life, and eat,
And live for ever, dream at leaſt to live
For ever, to remove him I decree,
And ſend him from the garden forth to till
The ground whence he was taken, fitter ſoil.
Michael, this my beheſt have thou in charge,
Take to thee from among the Cherubim
Thy choice of flaming warriors, leſt the Fiend,
Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
Vacant poſſeſſion, ſome new trouble raiſe:
Haſte thee, and from the Paradiſe of God
Without remorſe drive out the ſinful pair,
From hallow'd ground th' unholy, and denounce
To

The Almighty is here deſcrib'd as remembring mercy in the midſt of judgment, and commanding Michael to deliver his meſſage in the mildeſt terms, leſt the ſpirit of Man, which was already broken with the ſenſe of his guilt and miſery, ſhould fail before him. *Addiſon.*

This whole ſpeech is founded upon the following paſſage in Geneſis III. 22, 23, 24. *And the Lord God ſaid, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: And now leſt he put forth his hand, and take alſo of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever; Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the Man: and he placed at the eaſt of the garden of Eden Cherubims and a flaming ſword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life,*

86. *Of that defended fruit*;] Forbidden fruit, from *defendre* (French) to forbid; ſo uſed by Chaucer,

Where can you ſay in any manner age
That ever God *defended* marriage?
Hume and *Richardſon.*

99. *Michael, this my beheſt have thou in charge,*] Our author has with great judgment ſingled out *Michael* to receive this charge. It would not have been ſo proper for the *ſociable ſpirit Raphael* to have executed this order: but as Michael was the principal Angel employed in driving the rebel Angels

To them and to their progeny from thence
Perpetual baniſhment. Yet leſt they faint
At the ſad ſentence rigorouſly urg'd,
For I behold them ſoften'd and with tears
Bewailing their exceſs, all terror hide.
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Diſmiſs them not diſconſolate; reveal
To Adam what ſhall come in future days,
As I ſhall thee inlighten; intermix
My covenant in the Woman's ſeed renew'd;
So ſend them forth, though ſorrowing, yet in peace:
And on the eaſt ſide of the garden place,
Where entrance up from Eden eaſieſt climbs,
Cherubic watch, and of a ſword the flame
Wide-

out of Heaven, ſo he was the moſt proper to expel our firſt parents too out of Paradiſe.

111. *Bewailing their exceſs,*] God is here repreſented as pitying our firſt parents, and even while he is ordering Michael to drive them out of Paradiſe, orders him at the ſame time *to hide all terror*; and for the ſame reaſon he chooſes to ſpeak of their offenſe in the ſofteſt manner, calling it only an *exceſs*, a going beyond the bounds of their duty, by the ſame metaphor as ſin is often call'd *tranſgreſſion*.

128 ——*four faces each* &c.] Among the poetical parts of Scripture, which Milton has ſo finely wrought into this part of his narration, I muſt not omit that wherein Ezekiel ſpeaking of the Angels who appeared to him in viſion, adds that *every one had four faces*, and that *their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about.* Addiſon.

Dr. Bentley throws out the greateſt part of theſe verſes and reads thus,

——four *fac'd were* each
And all their ſhape ſpangled with eyes.
Mean while, &c.

His chief objection is to the expreſſion *more wakeful than to drouſe*; which (he ſays) is the ſame as more vocal than to be mute, more white than

Wide-waving, all approach far off to fright,
And guard all paſſage to the tree of life:
Leſt Paradiſe a receptacle prove
To Spirits foul, and all my trees their prey,
With whoſe ſtol'n fruit Man once more to delude.
He ceas'd; and th' archangelic Pow'r prepar'd
For ſwift deſcent, with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
Had, like a double Janus, all their ſhape
Spangled with eyes, more numerous than thoſe
Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drouſe,
Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the paſt'ral reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Mean while
To reſalute the world with ſacred light

Leu-

than to be black. But the whole expreſſion is, *more wakeful than to drouſe, charm'd with Arcadian pipe, or opiate rod of Hermes.* When two ſuch powerful cauſes of *drouſing* are mention'd, there is great force in ſaying, that they were *more wakeful* than to be influenc'd by them.

Pearce.

Ezekiel ſays that *every one had four faces*, X. 14. The poet adds, *four faces each had, like a double Janus*; Janus was a king in Italy, and is repreſented with two faces, to denote his great wiſdom, looking upon things paſt and to come; and the mention of a well known image with two faces may help to give us the better idea of others with four. Ezekiel ſays X. 12. *And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about:* The poet expreſſes it by a delightful metaphor, *all their ſhape ſpangled with eyes*, and then adds by way of compariſon *more numerous than thoſe of Argus*, a ſhepherd who had an hundred eyes, *and more wakeful than to drouſe*, as his did, *charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the paſt'ral reed*, that is the paſt'ral pipe made of reeds, as was that of *Hermes* or Mercury, who was employ'd by Jupiter to lull Argus aſleep and kill him, *or his opiate rod*, the caduceus of Mercury with which he could give ſleep

Leucothea wak'd, and with freſh dews imbalm'd 135
The earth, when Adam and firſt matron Eve
Had

to whomſoever he pleaſed. With this pipe and this rod he lull'd Argus aſleep and cut off his head. It is an alluſion to a celebrated ſtory in Ovid, Met. I. 625, &c.

Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat &c.

135. *Leucothea wak'd,*] The *White Goddeſs* as the name in Greek imports, the ſame with *Matuta* in Latin, as Cicero ſays, Lucothea nominata a Græcis, Matuta habetur a noſtris. Tuſc. I. 12. Quæ Lucothæa a Græcis, a nobis Matuta dicitur. De Nat. Deor. III. 19. And *Matuta* is the early morning that uſhers in the Aurora roſy with the ſun-beams, according to Lucretius, V. 655.

Tempore item certo roſeam Matuta per oras
Ætheris Auroram defert, et lumina pandit.

And from *Matuta* is deriv'd *Matutinus*, early in the morning. This is the laſt morning in the poem, the morning of the fatal day, wherein our firſt parents were expell'd out of Paradiſe. It is impoſſible to ſay, how much time is taken up in the action of this poem, ſince a great part of it lies beyond the ſphere of day; and for that part which lies within the ſphere of day, it is not eaſy to ſtate and define the time exactly, ſince our author himſelf ſeems not to have been very exact in this particular. Satan came to earth about noon, when the *full-blazing ſun ſat high in his meridian tower*, IV. 30. The evening of that firſt day is deſcrib'd IV. 598.

Now came ſtill evening on &c.

That night Satan tempts Eve in her dream, is diſcover'd cloſe at her ear, and flies out of Paradiſe, IV. 1015.

—and with him fled the ſhades of night,

Seven days after that he was coaſting round the earth, but always in the ſhade of night, IX. 62.

—thence full of anguiſh driven,
The ſpace of *ſeven* continued nights he rode
With darkneſs.——

But we have no farther account of any of theſe days excepting the firſt, which begins at the beginning of Book V.

Now morn her roſy ſteps in th' eaſtern clime
Advancing &c.

Eve there relates her dream to Adam; they go to work. Raphael is order'd to go, and *converſe with Adam half this day as friend with friend*, V. 229. He comes to Paradiſe at *midnoon*, ver. 311. and 300.

—while now the mounted ſun
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's inmoſt womb.——

He and Adam converſe together, which diſcourſe is related at large in the remainder of Book V. and Book VI, VII, and VIII. till the evening parts them, VIII. 630.

But

Had ended now their oriſons, and found
Strength added from above, new hope to ſpring Out

But I can now no more; the parting ſun
Beyond the earth's green Cape and verdant Iles
Heſperian ſets, my ſignal to depart.

This is the firſt of the ſeven days, during which Satan was compaſſing the earth. *On the eighth* he *return'd*, IX. 67. *at midnight*, ver. 58. and took poſſeſſion of the ſerpent *waiting cloſe th' approach of morn*, ver. 191. Morning is deſcrib'd, ver. 192.

Now when as ſacred light began to dawn &c.

Eve is prevail'd upon to eat of the forbidden fruit a little before noon, IX. 739.

Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
An eager appetite——

Adam eats likewiſe; they play, they ſleep, they wake; and Adam reproaches Eve with her *deſire of wand'ring this unhappy morn*, IX. 1136. In the cool of the evening the Meſſiah comes down to judge them, X. 92.

Now was the ſun in weſtern cadence low
From noon, and gentle airs due at their hour
To fan the earth now wak'd, and uſher in
The evening cool; when he from wrath more cool
Came the mild judge and interceſſor both
To ſentence Man.——

Satan fled from his preſence, but return'd by night, ver 341.

——*return'd*,
By night, and liſt'ning where the hapleſs pair
Sat in their ſad diſcourſe, and various plaint,
Thence gather'd his own doom, which underſtood
Not inſtant, but of future time, with joy
And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd.

In his return to Hell he meets Sin and Death in the morning, ver. 329.

—while the ſun in Aries *roſe*.

After Sin and Death had arriv'd in Paradiſe, the Angels are commanded to make ſeveral alterations in the Heavens and elements: and Adam is repreſented as lamenting aloud to himſelf, ver. 846.

Through the ſtill night, not now, as ere Man fell,
Wholeſome and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom.

Adam is afterwards made to talk ſomewhat confuſedly, in one place as if it was ſtill the day of the fall, ver. 962.

Since *this day's* death denounc'd, if ought I ſee,
Will prove no ſudden, but a ſlow-pac'd evil.

and in another place as if it was ſome day after the fall, ver. 1048.

——we expected
Immediate diſſolution, which we thought
Was meant by death *that day* &c.

Leucothea wak'd, and with freſh dews imbalm'd 135
The earth, when Adam and firſt matron Eve
Had

to whomſoever he pleaſed. With this pipe and this rod he lull'd Argus aſleep and cut off his head. It is an alluſion to a celebrated ſtory in Ovid, Met. I. 625, &c.

Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat &c.

135. *Leucothea wak'd,*] The *White Goddeſs* as the name in Greek imports, the ſame with *Matuta* in Latin, as Cicero ſays, Lucothea nominata a Græcis, Matuta habetur a noſtris. Tuſc. I. 12. Quæ Lucothæa a Græcis, a nobis Matuta dicitur. De Nat. Deor. III. 19. And *Matuta* is the early morning that uſhers in the Aurora roſy with the ſun-beams, according to Lucretius, V. 655.

Tempore item certo roſeam Matuta per oras
Ætheris Auroram defert, et lumina pandit.

And from *Matuta* is deriv'd *Matutinus*, early in the morning. This is the laſt morning in the poem, the morning of the fatal day, wherein our firſt parents were expell'd out of Paradiſe. It is impoſſible to ſay, how much time is taken up in the action of this poem, ſince a great part of it lies beyond the ſphere of day; and for that part which lies within the ſphere of day, it is not eaſy to ſtate and define the time exactly, ſince our author himſelf ſeems not to have been very exact in this particular. Satan came to earth about noon, when the *full-blazing ſun ſat high in his meridian tower*, IV. 30. The evening of that firſt day is deſcrib'd IV. 598.

Now came ſtill evening on &c.

That night Satan tempts Eve in her dream, is diſcover'd cloſe at her ear, and flies out of Paradiſe, IV. 1015.

—and with him fled the ſhades of night,

Seven days after that he was coaſting round the earth, but always in the ſhade of night, IX. 62.

—thence full of anguiſh driven,
The ſpace of *ſeven* continued nights he rode
With darkneſs.——

But we have no farther account of any of theſe days excepting the firſt, which begins at the beginning of Book V.

Now morn her roſy ſteps in th' eaſtern clime
Advancing &c.

Eve there relates her dream to Adam; they go to work. Raphael is order'd to go, and *converſe with Adam half this day as friend with friend*, V. 229. He comes to Paradiſe at *midnoon*, ver. 311. and 300.

—while now the mounted ſun
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's inmoſt womb.——

He and Adam converſe together, which diſcourſe is related at large in the remainder of Book V. and Book VI, VII, and VIII. till the evening parts them, VIII. 630.

But

Had ended now their oriſons, and found
Strength added from above, new hope to ſpring
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Wholeſome and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom.

Adam is afterwards made to talk ſomewhat confuſedly, in one place as if it was ſtill the day of the fall, ver. 962.

Since *this day's* death denounc'd, if ought I ſee,
Will prove no ſudden, but a ſlow-pac'd evil.

and in another place as if it was ſome day after the fall, ver. 1048.

——we expected
Immediate diſſolution, which we thought
Was meant by death *that day* &c.

Out of deſpair, joy, but with fear yet link'd;
Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd.
Eve, eaſily may faith admit, that all
The good which we enjoy, from Heav'n deſcends;
But that from us ought ſhall aſcend to Heaven
So prevalent as to concern the mind
Of God high-bleſt, or to incline his will,
Hard to belief may ſeem; yet this will prayer
Or one ſhort ſigh of human breath, upborne
Ev'n to the ſeat of God. For ſince I ſought

By

And having felt the cold damps of the night before, he is conſidering how they may provide themſelves with ſome better warmth and fire before another night comes, ver. 1069.

——ere this diurnal ſtar
Leave cold the night,

That other night we muſt now ſuppoſe to be paſt, ſince the morning here appears again

To reſalute the world with ſacred light;

So that according to the beſt calculation we can make, this is the eleventh day of the poem, we mean of that part of it which was tranſacted within the ſphere of day. Mr. Addiſon reckons only *ten* days to the action of the poem, that is he ſuppoſes that our firſt parents were expell'd out of Paradiſe the very next day after the fall; and indeed at firſt ſight it appears ſo: But then we cannot ſee with what propriety ſeveral things are ſaid, which we have here quoted; and particularly of the ſun's *riſing* in Aries, when Satan met Sin and Death at the brink of Chaos; and if it was ſtill the night after the fall, how could Adam ſay, as he is repreſented ſaying,

——which bids us ſeek
Some better ſhroud, ſome better warmth to cheriſh
Our limbs benumm'd, *ere this diurnal ſtar*
Leave cold the night,

But indeed the author is not very exact in the computation of time, and perhaps he affected ſome obſcurity in this particular, and did not chooſe to define, as the Scripture itſelf has not defin'd, how ſoon after the fall it was that our firſt parents were driven out of Paradiſe.

141. *Eve,*

By pray'r th' offended Deity to' appeaſe,
Kneel'd and before him humbled all my heart,
Methought I ſaw him placable and mild,
Bending his ear; perſuaſion in me grew
That I was heard with favor; peace return'd
Home to my breaſt, and to my memory
His promiſe, that thy ſeed ſhall bruiſe our foe;
Which then not minded in diſmay, yet now
Aſſures me that the bitterneſs of death
Is paſt, and we ſhall live. Whence hail to thee,

Eve

141, *Eve, eaſily* &c.] An ingenious writer and great admirer of Milton thus deſcants upon this paſſage, beginning here, and ending at ver. 152. *Bending his ear.* "How "extremely fine is the poetry of "this paſſage! How ſoft is the be-"ginning, occaſion'd by the aſſo-"nance of the two firſt words, *Eve*, "*eaſily*, and of the five next, all alli-"terated with the ſame vowel, *a*.

——may faith admit that all!

"How ſolemn is the pauſe at the "firſt ſyllable of the third line!

But——

"and the cæſure upon the mono-"ſyllable *us* that follows imme-"diately,

But—that from *us!*—

"And the ſame energy is plainly "perceived at the end of the ſixth "line, where the cæſure is plac'd "upon the monoſyllable *yet*.

—yet—this will prayer.

"But when we come to that line,

Kneel'd and before him humbled
all my heart,

"ſuch is the force of the word *kneel'd* "in that ſituation, that we actually "ſee Adam upon his knees before "the offended Deity; and by the "concluſion of this paragraph—"*Bending his ear*, infinite goodneſs "is viſibly as it were repreſented to "our eyes as inclining to hearken "to the prayers of his penitent "creature." See *Letters concerning poetical tranſlations* &c. p. 58, 59.

157. *Aſſures me that the bitterneſs of death*
Is paſt,] Adam is made to talk in the language of Agag, 1 Sam. XV. 32. *And Agag ſaid, Surely the bitterneſs of death is paſt.*

159. *Eve*

Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,
Mother of all things living, ſince by thee
Man is to live, and all things live for Man.
To whom thus Eve with ſad demeanour meek.
Ill worthy I ſuch title ſhould belong
To me tranſgreſſor, who for thee ordain'd
A help, became thy ſnare; to me reproach
Rather belongs, diſtruſt and all diſpraiſe:
But infinite in pardon was my judge,
That I who firſt brought death on all, am grac'd
The ſource of life; next favourable thou,
Who highly thus to' intitle me vouchſaf'ſt,
Far

159. *Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,*] Gen. III. 20. *And Adam call'd his wife's name Eve, becauſe ſhe was the mother of all living.* He call'd her before Iſhah, *Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of* Iſh, *Man*, Gen. II. 23.

—Woman is her name, of Man
Extracted——

at it is expreſs'd VIII. 496. But now he denominates her *Eve* or Havah from a Hebrew word which ſignifies to *live*, in firm belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the promis'd Seed particularly. Our poet had call'd her Eve before by way of anticipation.

175. *Her roſy progreſs ſmiling;*] This may ſerve to confirm what we obſerv'd before, that *Leucothea* is the moſt early morning, that uſhers in the Aurora; ſhe was pale and *white* before, now ſhe is *roſy* red, with the nearer approach of the ſun-beams, agreeably to the quotation that we made from Lucretius,

——*roſeam* Matuta per oras
Ætheris *Auroram* defert.

And the expreſſion of the morn's *beginning her progreſs* ſeems to be copied from Shakeſpear, 1 Henry IV. Act II.

—the heav'nly-harneſs'd team
Begins his golden *progreſs* in the eaſt,

181. *So ſpake*, &c.] The conference of Adam and Eve is full of moving ſentiments. Upon their going abroad after the melancholy night

Far other name deſerving. But the field
To labor calls us now with ſweat impos'd,
Though after ſleepleſs night; for ſee the morn,
All unconcern'd with our unreſt, begins
Her roſy progreſs ſmiling; let us forth,
I never from thy ſide henceforth to ſtray,
Where'er our day's work lies, though now injoin'd
Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
What can be toilſome in theſe pleaſant walks?
Here let us live, though in fall'n ſtate, content.
So ſpake, ſo wiſh'd much-humbled Eve, but fate
Subſcrib'd not; Nature firſt gave ſigns, impreſs'd
On

night which they had paſſed together, they diſcover the lion and the eagle purſuing each of them their prey towards the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe. There is a double beauty in this incident, not only as it preſents great and juſt omens, which are always agreeable in poetry, but as it expreſſes that enmity which was now produced in the animal creation. The poet to ſhew the like changes in nature, as well as to grace his fable with a noble prodigy, repreſents the ſun in an eclipſe. This particular incident has likewiſe a fine effect upon the imagination of the reader, in regard to what follows; for at the ſame time that the ſun is under an eclipſe, a bright cloud deſcends in the weſtern quarter of the Heavens, filled with an hoſt of Angels, and more luminous than the ſun itſelf. The whole theatre of nature is darken'd, that this glorious machine may appear in all its luſtre and magnificence. *Addiſon.*

182. *Subſcribed not*;] That is, aſſented not, agreed not to it. *Subſcribere*, to underwrite, thence to agree to. So the word is ſometimes uſed in Latin; and Milton often uſes words according to the Latin idiom. So Ovid, Triſt. Lib. I. El. II.

Dii maris et cœli (quid enim niſi vota ſuperſunt?)
Solvere quaſſatæ parcitæ membra ratis:
Neve precor magni *ſubſcribite* Cæſaris iræ.

And Phædrus, Fab. III. X. 57.

Aut gratiæ *ſubſcribit*, aut odio ſuo.

And

On bird, beaſt, air, air ſuddenly eclips'd
After ſhort bluſh of morn; nigh in her ſight
The bird of Jove, ſtoop'd from his aery tour,
Two birds of gayeſt plume before him drove;
Down from a hill the beaſt that reigns in woods,
Firſt hunter then, purſu'd a gentle brace,
Goodlieſt of all the foreſt, hart and hind;
Direct to th' eaſtern gate was bent their flight.
Adam obſerv'd, and with his eye the chaſe
Purſuing, not unmov'd to Eve thus ſpake.

O Eve, ſome further change awaits us nigh,
Which Heav'n by theſe mute ſigns in nature ſhows,
Forerunners of his purpoſe, or to warn
Us

And ſo Shakeſpear in Meaſure for Meaſure, Act. II.

Admit no other way to ſave his life,
As I *ſubſcribe* not that,

184.—*nigh in her ſight*] Dr. Bentley ſays, Milton gave it, *nigh in their ſight*, not in Eve's only, but in the ſight of both. But it ſhould rather be *in her ſight* here, becauſe it is ſaid afterwards *Adam obſerv'd* &c.

185. *The bird of Jove, ſtoop'd from his aery tour*, &c.] *The bird of Jove*, Jovis ales, the eagle. *Stoop'd* is a participle here, and a term of falconry. Such omens are not unuſual in the poets, Virg. Æn. I. 393.

Aſpice bis ſenos lætantes agmine cycnos,
Æthereâ quos lapſa plagâ Jovis ales aperto
Turbabat cœlo.

Twelve ſwans behold in beauteous order move,
And ſtoop with cloſing pinions from above;
Whom late the bird of Jove had driv'n along,
And thro' the clouds purſued the ſcatt'ring throng. Dryden.

And Æn. XII. 247.

Namque volans rubrâ fulvus Jovis ales in æthra
Littoreas agitabat aves, turbamque ſonantem
Agminis aligeri.

For

Us haply too ſecure of our diſcharge
From penalty, becauſe from death releas'd
Some days; how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows, or more than this, that we are duſt,
And thither muſt return and be no more?
Why elſe this double object in our ſight
Of flight purſu'd in th' air, and o'er the ground,
One way the ſelf-ſame hour? why in the eaſt
Darkneſs ere day's mid-courſe, and morning light
More orient in yon weſtern cloud, that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And ſlow deſcends, with ſomething heav'nly fraught?
He err'd not, for by this the heav'nly bands
Down

For ſudden in the fiery tracts above
Appears in pomp th' imperial bird of Jove:
A plump of fowls he ſpies, that ſwim the lakes,
And o'er their heads his ſounding pinions ſhakes.
Then ſtooping on the faireſt of the train, &c. Dryden.

But theſe omens have a ſingular beauty here, as they ſhow the change that is produc'd among animals, as well as the change that is going to be made in the condition of Adam and Eve; and nothing could be invented more appoſite and proper for this purpoſe. An eagle, purſuing two beautiful birds, and a lion chaſing a fine hart and hind; and both to the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe; as Adam and Eve were to be driven out by the Angel at the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe.

204. *Darkneſs ere day's mid-courſe,*]

Et noctis faciem nebulas feciſſe volucres
Sub nitido mirata die.
Ov. Met. I. 602. *Hume.*

204.——*and morning light* &c.] I think it would not be amiſs to refer the curious reader to Marino's deſcription of the deſcent of the three Goddeſſes upon mount Ida, C. 2. St. 67. which is a ſcene of the ſame ſort with this, and painted, I think, even in livelier colors than this of Milton's. *Thyer.*

213. *Not*

Down from a ſky of jaſper lighted now
In Paradiſe, and on a hill made halt,
A glorious apparition, had not doubt
And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
Jacob in Mahanaim, where he ſaw
The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright;
Nor that which on the flaming mount appear'd
In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,
Againſt the Syrian king, who to ſurpriſe
One man, aſſaſſin-like, had levied war,
War unproclam'd. The princely Hierarch
In their bright ſtand there left his Pow'rs to ſeiſe
Poſſeſſion of the garden; he alone,
To find where Adam ſhelter'd, took his way,
Not unperceiv'd of Adam, who to Eve,

While

213. *Not that more glorious*, &c.] That was not a more glorious apparition of Angels, which appear'd to Jacob in Mahanaim. Gen. XXXII. 1, 2. *And Jacob went on his way, and the Angels of God met him: And when Jacob ſaw them, he ſaid, This is God's hoſt; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.* Nor that which appear'd on the flaming mount in Dothan againſt the king of Syria, when he levied war againſt a ſingle man not like a generous enemy, but like a baſe aſſaſſin endevor'd to take him by ſurpriſe, namely Eliſha, for having diſclos'd the deſigns of the king of Syria to the king of Iſrael, 2 Kings VI. 13. &c. *And it was told him, ſaying, Behold he is in Dothan. Therefore ſent he thither horſes, and chariots, and a great hoſt: and they came by night and compaſſed the city about. And when the ſervant of the man of God was riſen early, and gone forth, behold an hoſt compaſſed the city both with*

While the great viſitant approach'd, thus ſpake.
  Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will ſoon determin, or impoſe
New laws to be obſerv'd; for I deſcry
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill
One of the heav'nly hoſt, and by his gate,
None of the meaneſt, ſome great Potentate
Or of the Thrones above, ſuch majeſty
Inveſts him coming; yet not terrible,
That I ſhould fear, nor ſociably mild,
As Raphael, that I ſhould much confide,
But ſolemn and ſublime, whom not to' offend,
With reverence I muſt meet, and thou retire.
  He ended; and th' Arch-Angel ſoon drew nigh,
Not in his ſhape celeſtial, but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms

with horſes and chariots: and his ſervant ſaid unto him, Alas, my maſter, how ſhall we do? And he anſwered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Eliſha prayed and ſaid, Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes that he may ſee. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he ſaw: and behold, the mountain was full of horſes, and chariots of fire round about Eliſha.

220. *War unproclam'd.*] The ſevere cenſure on this makes me fancy that Milton hinted at the war with Holland, which broke out in 1664, when we ſurpris'd and took the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, before war was proclam'd, which the Whigs much exclam'd againſt. *Warburton.*

238.—*th' Arch-Angel ſoon drew nigh*, &c.] I need not obſerve how properly this author, who always ſuits his parts to the actors whom he introduces, has employ'd Michael in the expulſion of our firſt parents from Paradiſe. The Arch-Angel

A military veſt of purple flow'd,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
In time of truce; Iris had dipt the woof;
His ſtarry helm unbuckled ſhow'd him prime
In manhood where youth ended; by his ſide
As in a gliſt'ring zodiac hung the ſword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the ſpear,
Adam bow'd low; he kingly from his ſtate
Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd.

Adam, Heav'n's high beheſt no preface needs:

Suffi-

Angel on this occaſion neither appears in his proper ſhape, nor in that familiar manner with which Raphael the ſociable Spirit entertained the father of makind before the fall. His perſon, his poſt, and behaviour are ſuitable to a Spirit of the higheſt rank, and exquiſitely deſcribed in the following paſſage. *Addiſon.*

242. *Livelier than Melibœan.*] Of a livelier color and richer dye than any made at *Melibœa*, a city of Theſſaly, famous for a fiſh called *oſtrum*, there caught and uſed in dying the nobleſt purple.

——Quam plurima circum
Purpura Mæandro duplici *Melibœa* cucurrit. Virg. Æn. V. 251.

Or the grain of Sarra, or the dye of Tyre, named *Sarra* of *Sar*, the Phœnician name of a fiſh there taken, whoſe blood made the purple color. Georg. II. 506.

Sarrano indormiat oſtro. *Hume.*

244. — *Iris had dipt the woof*;] A moſt poetical expreſſion. He had ſaid before, that it was livelier than the Melibœan grain, or than that of Sarra; it excell'd the moſt precious purple: but now he ſays that *Iris* herſelf had given the color, the moſt beautiful colors being in the rainbow; nay *Iris had dipt the* very *woof*. He had before made uſe of a like expreſſion in the *Maſk*. The attendant Spirit ſays,

—— But I muſt firſt put off
Theſe my ſky robes *ſpun out of Iris' woof*.

248.—*and in his hand a ſpear*,] The conſtruction of this, and the former

Sufficient that thy pray'rs are heard, and Death,
Then due by ſentence when thou didſt tranſgreſs,
Defeated of his ſeiſure many days
Giv'n thee of grace, wherein thou may'ſt repent,
And one bad act with many deeds well done
Mayſt cover: well may then thy Lord appeas'd
Redeem thee quite from Death's rapacious clame;
But longer in this Paradiſe to dwell
Permits not; to remove thee I am come,
And ſend thee from the garden forth to till
The ground whence thou waſt taken, fitter ſoil.

He

former part of the period is indeed thus: *By his ſide hung the ſword, and the ſpear in his hand.* The image then is, that as his ſword hung looſely in his belt, he carried the ſpear negligently in his hand, as he advanc'd toward Adam; and perhaps this is the picture intended to be given. But the reader is at liberty to imagin the ſpear carried in the Angel's hand in what attitude pleaſes him beſt; or ſeveral; for 'tis common with the Ancients for the verb not to be applicable to all the members of the period. So here *hung* may be reſtrain'd to the ſword only. There is another like inſtance, IV. 509. *pines* agrees to *deſire* only. Markland on Statius's Sylv. I. I. 79. gives ſeveral inſtances of this in the Ancients. *Richardſon.*

261. *And ſend thee from the garden forth to till*
The ground whence thou waſt taken, fitter ſoil.] It is after the manner of Homer, that the Angel is here made to deliver the order he had received in the very words he had received it. Homer's exactneſs is ſo great in this kind, that ſometimes I know not whether it is not rather a fault. He obſerves this method not only when orders are given by a ſuperior power, but alſo when meſſages are ſent between equals. Nay in the heat and hurry of a battel a man delivers a meſſage word for word as he received it; and ſometimes a thing is repeated ſo often that it becomes almoſt tedious. Jupiter delivers a commiſſion to a Dream, the Dream delivers it exactly in the ſame words to Agamemnon, and Agamemnon repeats it a third time to the council, tho' it be a tautology of five or ſix verſes together.

He added not, for Adam at the news
Heart-ſtruck with chilling gripe of ſorrow ſtood,
That all his ſenſes bound; Eve, who unſeen
Yet all had heard, with audible lament
Diſcover'd ſoon the place of her retire.
O unexpected ſtroke, worſe than of Death!
Muſt I thus leave thee, Paradiſe? thus leave
Thee, native ſoil, theſe happy walks and ſhades,
Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to ſpend,
Quiet though ſad, the reſpit of that day
That muſt be mortal to us both. O flowers,
That never will in other climate grow,

My

gether. But in the paſſage before us, here is all the beauty and ſimplicity of Homer, without any of his faults. Here are only two lines repeated out of one ſpeech, and a third out of another; ver. 48. and here again ver. 259.

But longer in this Paradiſe to dwell.

And it is a decree pronounced ſolemnly by the Almighty, and certainly it would not have become the Angel, who was ſent to put it in execution, to deliver it in any other words than thoſe of the Almighty. And let me add, that it was the more proper and neceſſary to repeat the words in this place, as the cataſtrophe of the poem depends ſo much upon them, and by them the fate of Man is determin'd, and *Paradiſe* is *loſt*.

263. *He added not, for Adam at the news* &c.] How naturally and juſtly does Milton here deſcribe the different effects of grief upon our firſt parents! Mr. Addiſon has already remark'd upon the beauty and propriety of Eve's complaint, but I think there is an additional beauty to be obſerv'd when one conſiders the fine contraſt which there is betwixt that and Adam's ſorrow, which was ſilent and thoughtful, as Eve's was loud and haſty, both conſiſtent with the different characters of the ſexes, which Milton has indeed kept up with great exactneſs through the whole poem. *Thyer.*

268. *O unexpected ſtroke*, &c.] Eve's complaint upon hearing that ſhe

was

My early viſitation, and my laſt
At even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the firſt opening bud, and gave ye names,
Who now ſhall rear ye to the ſun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from th' ambroſial fount?
Thee laſtly, nuptial bow'r, by me adorn'd
With what to ſight or ſmell was ſweet, from thee
How ſhall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obſcure
And wild? how ſhall we breathe in other air
Leſs pure, accuſtom'd to immortal fruits?
Whom thus the Angel interrupted mild.

Lament

was to be removed from the garden of Paradiſe, is wonderfully beautiful: the ſentiments are not only proper to the ſubject, but have ſomething in them particularly ſoft and womaniſh. *Addiſon.*

270.—*native ſoil,*] Natale ſolum, as the Latins ſay,

Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos.

Paradiſe was the native place of Eve, but Adam was formed out of the duſt of the ground, and was afterwards brought into Paradiſe.

284.—*how ſhall we breathe in other air*
Leſs pure, accuſtom'd to immortal fruits?] Dr. Bentley thinks that ſome words were here dropt out of the author's copy, which he ſupplies thus,

—how ſhall we breathe in *air leſs pure?*
What eat, accuſtom'd to immortal fruits?

He aſks, What do the *fruits*, now to be parted with, ſignify to her *breathing in other air?* Bnt this queſtion does not include all the words neceſſary for underſtanding the paſſage: becauſe thoſe fruits were *immortal* ones, therefore Eve queſtions how ſhe ſhould be able to *breathe* in leſs pure air: To eat (for the future) fruits not immortal, and to have air leſs pure too, were circumſtances which might well juſtify her ſolicitous inquiry about her breathing in the lower world. *Pearce.*

Lament not, Eve, but patiently reſign
What juſtly thou haſt loſt; nor ſet thy heart,
Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine;
Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes
Thy huſband; him to follow thou art bound;
Where he abides, think there thy native ſoil.
Adam by this from the cold ſudden damp
Recovering, and his ſcatter'd ſpi'rits return'd,
To Michael thus his humble words addreſs'd.
Celeſtial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
Of them the high'eſt, for ſuch of ſhape may ſeem
Prince above princes, gently haſt thou told
Thy meſſage, which might elſe in telling wound,
And in performing end us; what beſides
Of ſorrow and dejection and deſpair
Our frailty can ſuſtain, thy tidings bring,
Departure from this happy place, our ſweet
Receſs,

296. *Celeſtial, whether* &c.] Adam's ſpeech abounds with thoughts, which are equally moving, but of a more maſculine and elevated turn. Nothing can be conceived more ſublime and poetical than the following paſſage in it,

This moſt afflicts me, that departing hence &c. *Addiſon.*

There is the ſame propriety in theſe ſpeeches of Adam and Eve, as the critics have obſerved in the ſpeeches of Priam and Hecuba to diſſuade Hector from fighting with Achilles in the twenty-ſecond book of the Iliad, where the ſentiments are excellently adapted to the different characters of the father and mother. And this, ſays Mr. Pope, puts me in mind of a judicious ſtroke in Milton, with regard to the ſeveral characters of Adam and Eve. When the Angel is driving them both out of

Receſs, and only conſolation left
Familiar to our eyes, all places elſe
Inhoſpitable' appear and deſolate,
Nor knowing us nor known: and if by prayer
Inceſſant I could hope to change the will
Of him who all things can, I would not ceaſe
To weary him with my aſſiduous cries:
But pray'r againſt his abſolute decree
No more avails than breath againſt the wind,
Blown ſtifling back on him that breathes it forth:
Therefore to his great bidding I ſubmit.
This moſt afflicts me, that departing hence,
As from his face I ſhall be hid, depriv'd
His bleſſed count'nance; here I could frequent
With worſhip place by place where he vouchſaf'd
Preſence divine, and to my ſons relate,
On this mount he appear'd, under this tree

Stood

of Paradiſe, Adam grieves that he muſt leave a place where he had converſed with God and his Angels; but Eve laments that ſhe ſhall never more behold the fine flowers of Eden: Here Adam mourns like a man, and Eve like a woman.

320. *On this mount he appear'd*, &c.] This has been obſerv'd to be very like what our author has written in another place, due allowance being made for the difference of perſon and ſubject. "With leſs fervency "was ſtudied what St. Paul or St. "John had written, than was liſten'd "to one that could ſay, *here he* "*taught, here he ſtood, this was his* "*ſtature, and thus he went habited,* "*and O happy this houſe that ha-* "*bour'd him, and that cold ſtone* "*whereon he reſted, this village* "*wherein he wrought ſuch a miracle,* "*and that pavement bedew'd with* "*the warm effuſion of his laſt blood,*

Stood visible, among these pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd;
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory,
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling gums and fruits and flowers;
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or foot-step trace?
For though I fled him angry, yet recall'd
To

" *that sprouted up into eternal roses to* " *crown his martyrdom.*" Of Prelatical Episcopacy, p. 34. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738. And both passages very much resemble the following in Pliny's Panegyric to Trajan. XV. Veniet ergo tempus, quo posteri visere, visendum tradere minoribus suis gestient, quis sudores tuos hauserit campus, quæ refectiones tuas arbores, quæ somnum saxa prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hospes impleveris, &c.

325. ——*in memory,*
Or monument to ages,] Dr. Bentley asks what difference there is between *memorial* and *monument*, that *or* must separate them. I think that by *in memory* Adam means for a memorial to himself for marks by which he might remember the places of God's appearance: but because his sons (who had not seen God appearing there) could not be said to remember them; he therefore changes his expression and says *Or* in *monument to ages*, that is, to warn, teach and instruct them that God formerly appeared there to me. The Doctor not perceiving this sense of the passage, would read

——from the *brooks* in memory,
A monument to ages. *Pearce.*

332. *Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts*
Of glory,] He alludes to Exod. XXXIII. 22, 23. *And it shall come to pass while my glory passes by—— thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen:* As in what follows he had Statius in memory, Thebaid XII. 817.

——*and far off his steps adore.*
Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.

337.—*and every kind that lives,*] The construction is, *his omnipresence fills every kind that lives:* Which, if true, says Dr. Bentley, was not the author's intention. But how it can be proved that it was not the author's

To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmoſt ſkirts
Of glory, and far off his ſteps adore.

To whom thus Michael with regard benign.
Adam, thou know'ſt Heav'n his, and all the Earth,
Not this rock only'; his omnipreſence fills
Land, ſea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual pow'r and warm'd:
All th' earth he gave thee to poſſeſs and rule,
No deſpicable gift; ſurmiſe not then
His

thor's intention, when his words ſo clearly expreſs it, I am at a loſs to apprehend: And if the Doctor could really queſtion the truth of the aſſertion it muſt be ſaid that the poet had nobler and more worthy conceptions of God's omnipreſence than the Divine; for *in him we live, and move, and have our being*, Acts XVII. 28. Another poet has inlarged upon the ſame ſentiment, with great ſublimity of thought, and as great force of language. Eſſay on Man, I. 259, &c.

All are but parts of one ſtupendous whole,
Whoſe body Nature is, and God the ſoul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the ſame,
Great in the earth, as in th' ethereal frame,
Warms in the ſun, refreſhes in the breeze,
Glows in the ſtars, and bloſſoms in the trees,
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unſpent,
Breathes in our ſoul, informs our mortal part,
As full as perfect, in a hair, as heart,
As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns;
To him, no high, no low, no great, no ſmall;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Nay an Heathen poet has a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe, to which no doubt Milton alluded. Lucan IX. 578.

Eſtne Dei ſedes niſi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cœlum, et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.

His preſence to theſe narrow bounds confin'd
Of Paradiſe or Eden: this had been
Perhaps thy capital ſeat, from whence had ſpread
All generations, and had hither come
From all the ends of th' earth, to celebrate
And reverence thee their great progenitor.
But this præeminence thou' haſt loſt, brought down
To dwell on even ground now with thy ſons:
Yet doubt but in valley and in plain
God is as here, and will be found alike
Preſent, and of his preſence many a ſign
Still following thee, ſtill compaſſing thee round
With goodneſs and paternal love, his face
Expreſs, and of his ſteps the track divine.
Which that thou may'ſt believe, and be confirm'd
Ere thou from hence depart, know I am ſent
To ſhow thee what ſhall come in future days

To

344. ——*and had hither come*] So the firſt editions, and not *thither*, which is in moſt of the later ones.

366. ——*Aſcend*
This hill;] The Angel afterwards leads Adam to the higheſt mount of Paradiſe, and lays before him a whole hemiſphere, as a proper ſtage for thoſe viſions which were to be repreſented on it. I have before obſerved how the plan of Milton's poem is in many particulars greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid. Virgil's hero, in the laſt of theſe poems, is entertain'd with a ſight of all thoſe who are to deſcend from him; but though that epiſode is juſtly admired as one of the nobleſt deſigns in the whole Æneid, every one muſt allow that this of Milton is of a much higher nature. Adam's viſion is not confin'd to any particular

To thee and to thy ofspring; good with bad
Expect to hear, ſupernal grace contending
With ſinfulneſs of men; thereby to learn
True patience, and to temper joy with fear
And pious ſorrow, equally inur'd
By moderation either ſtate to bear,
Proſperous or adverſe: ſo ſhalt thou lead
Safeſt thy life, and beſt prepar'd indure
Thy mortal paſſage when it comes. Aſcend
This hill; let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)
Here ſleep below, while thou to foreſight wak'ſt;
As once thou ſleptſt, while ſhe to life was form'd.
To whom thus Adam gratefully reply'd.
Aſcend, I follow thee, ſafe Guide, the path
Thou lead'ſt me', and to the hand of Heav'n ſubmit,
However chaſt'ning, to the evil turn
My obvious breaſt, arming to overcome

By

lar tribe of mankind, but extends to the whole ſpecies. *Addiſon.*

367.—*let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)*
Here ſleep below,] It may be aſked why Eve was not permitted to ſee this viſion, as ſhe had no leſs occaſion than Adam *thereby to learn true patience*; but Milton here only continues the ſame decorum which he had before obſerv'd, when he made Eve retire upon Raphael's beginning his conference with Adam, Book VIII. Beſides the tenderneſs of the female mind could not be ſuppoſed able to bear the ſhocking ſcenes, which were going to be repreſented. *Thyer.*

374. ——*to overcome*
By ſuffering,] Virg. Æn. V. 710.
Quicquid erit, ſuperanda omnis fortuna ferendo eſt.

377. *In*

By ſuffering, and earn reſt from labor won,
If ſo I may attain. So both aſcend
In the viſions of God: it was a hill
Of Paradiſe the higheſt, from whoſe top
The hemiſphere of earth in cleareſt ken
Stretch'd out to th' ampleſt reach of proſpect lay.
Not high'er that hill nor wider looking round,
Whereon

377. *In the viſions of God:*] A Scripture expreſſion, Ezek. VIII. 3. *And the Spirit lift me up between the Earth and the Heaven, and brought me in the viſions of God to Jeruſalem.* And again, Ezek. XL. 2. *In the viſions of God brought he me into the land of Iſrael, and ſet me upon a very high mountain.* And theſe may very properly be call'd *the viſions of God* not only for diſcovering things future, but likewiſe for the extenſiveneſs of the proſpect, ſuch as no human eye could reach. For upon the higheſt mountain the eye can command only a ſmall part of the hemiſphere by reaſon of the roundneſs of the earth: but here a whole hemiſphere *lay ſtretch'd out* to view, at once like a plain.

381. *Not higher that hill* &c.] That hill was not higher, whereon the devil ſet our Saviour (*the ſecond man* 1 Cor. XV. 47. *the laſt Adam* ver. 45.) to *ſhow him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.* Matth. IV. 8. The proſpects are well compared together, and the firſt thought of the one might probably be taken from the other: and as the one makes part of the ſubject of Paradiſe Loſt, ſo doth the other of Paradiſe Regain'd.

387. —*from the deſtin'd walls*
Of Cambalu, &c.] He firſt takes a view of Aſia, and there of the northern parts, *the deſtin'd walls* not yet in being but deſign'd to be (which is to be underſtood of all the reſt) *of Cambalu, ſeat of Cathaian Can,* the principal city of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient ſeat of the Chams, *and Samarchand by Oxus,* the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary near the river Oxis, *Temir's throne,* the birth place and royal reſidence of Tamerlane; and from the northern he paſſes to the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of Aſia, *to Paquin* or Pekin *of Sinæan kings,* the royal city of China, the country of the ancient Sinæ mention'd by Ptolemy, *and thence to Agra and Labor* two great cities in the empire *of the great Mogul, down to the golden Cherſoneſe,* that is Malacca the moſt ſouthern promontory of the Eaſt-Indies, ſo called on account of its riches to diſtinguiſh it from the other Cherſoneſes or peninſula's, *or where the Perſian in Ecbatan ſat,* Ecbatana formerly the capital

Whereon for different cauſe the Tempter ſet
Our ſecond Adam in the wilderneſs,
To ſhew him all earth's kingdoms and their glory.
His eye might there command wherever ſtood
City of old or modern fame, the ſeat
Of mightieſt empire, from the deſtin'd walls
Of Cambalu, ſeat of Cathaian Can,

And

tal city of Perſia, *or ſince in Hiſpahan*, the capital city at preſent, *or where the Ruſſian Ksar*, the Czar of Muſcovy, *in Moſco*, the metropolis of all Ruſſia, *or the Sultan in Bizance*, the Grand Signior in Conſtantinople formerly Byzantium, *Turcheſtan-born*, as the Turks came from Turcheſtan a province of Tartary; he reckons theſe to Aſia, as they are adjoining, and great part of their territories lie in Aſia. He paſſes now into Africa; *nor could his eye not ken th' empire of Negus*, the Upper Ethiopia or the land of the Abyſſinians, ſubject to one ſovran, ſtiled in their own language *Negus* or king, and by the Europeans Preſtor John, *to his utmoſt port Ercoco*, or Erquico on the Red Sea, the north-eaſt boundary of the Abyſſinian empire, *and the leſs maritim kings*, the leſſer kingdoms on the ſea coaſt, *Mombaza and Quiloa, and Melind*, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the lower Ethiopia on the eaſtern or Indian ſea, and ſubject to the Portugueſe, *and Sofala thought Ophir*, another kingdom and city on the ſame ſea, miſtaken by Purchas and others for Ophir, whence Solomon brought gold, *to the realm of Congo*, a kingdom in the lower Ethiopia on the weſtern ſhore, as the others were on the eaſtern, *and Angola fartheſt ſouth*, another kingdom ſouth of Congo; *Or thence from Niger flood*, the river Niger that divides Negroland into two parts, to *Atlas mount* in the moſt weſtern parts of Africa, the *kingdoms of Almanſor*, the countries over which *Almanſor* was king, namely *Fez* and *Sus*, *Morocco and Algiers*, *and Tremiſen*, all kingdoms in Barbary. After Africa he comes to Europe, *On Europe thence, and where Rome was to ſway the world*: the leſs is ſaid of Europe as it is ſo well known. *In ſpirit perhaps he alſo ſaw*, he could not ſee it otherwiſe, as America was on the oppoſit ſide of the globe, *rich Mexico* in North America *the ſeat of Montezume*, who was ſubdued by the Spaniſh general Cortes, *and Cuſco in Peru* in South America, *the richer ſeat of Atabalipa*, the laſt emperor ſubdued by the Spaniſh general Pizarro, *and yet unſpoil'd Guiana*, another country of South America not then invaded and ſpoil'd, *whoſe great city*, namely Manhoa, *Geryon's ſons*, the

And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin of Sinæan kings, and thence
To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul
Down to the golden Cherſoneſe, or where
The Perſian in Ecbatan ſat, or ſince
In Hiſpahan, or where the Ruſſian Kſar
In Moſco, or the Sultan in Bizance,
Turcheſtan-born; nor could his eye not ken
Th' empire of Negus to his utmoſt port
Ercoco, and the leſs maritim kings
Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala thought Ophir, to the realm
Of

the Spaniards from Geryon an ancient king of Spain, *call El Dorado* or the golden city on account of its richneſs and extent. And thus he ſurveys the four different parts of the world, but it muſt be confeſs'd, more with an oſtentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem. But Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that ſuch little ſallies of the Muſe agreeably enough diverſify the ſcene, and obſerves that Taſſo, whoſe Godfrey is no very imperfect model of a regular epic poem, has in his fifteenth Canto employ'd thirty or forty ſtanzas together in a deſcription of this ſort, which had no neceſſary connexion with his general plan.

409. ——*and yet unſpoil'd Guiana.*] I ſuppoſe Milton alluded to the many fruſtrated voyages, which had been made in ſearch of this golden country. If I remember right, this was the famous place that Sir Walter Raleigh was to have brought ſuch treaſures from. *Thyer.*

411. —*but to nobler ſights Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,*] Theſe which follow are *nobler ſights*, being not only of cities and kingdoms, but of the principal actions of men to the final conſummation of things. And to prepare Adam for theſe ſights the Angel *remov'd the film from his eyes*, as Pallas remov'd the miſts from Diomedes his eyes, Iliad. V. 127.

Αχλυν δ' αυ τοι απ' οφθαλμων ελον, ἡ πριν επηεν,
Οφρ' ευ γινωσκῃς ἠμεν θεον, ἠδε και ανδρα.

Yet

Of Congo, and Angola fartheſt ſouth;
Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount
The kingdoms of Almanſor, Fez and Sus,
Morocco, and Algiers, and Tremiſen;
On Europe thence, and where Rome was to ſway
The world: in ſpi'rit perhaps he alſo ſaw
Rich Mexico, the ſeat of Montezume,
And Cuſco in Peru, the richer ſeat
Of Atabalipa, and yet unſpoil'd
Guiana, whoſe great city Geryon's ſons
Call El Dorado: but to nobler ſights
Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,

Which

Yet more, from mortal miſts I purge thy eyes,
And ſet to view the warring Deities. Pope.

And as Venus did likewiſe from thoſe of Æneas, Æn. II. 604.

Aſpice, namque omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
Mortales hebetat viſus tibi, et humida circum
Caligat, nubem eripiam.

Now caſt your eyes around; while I diſſolve
The miſts and films that mortal eyes involve,
Pugre from your ſight the droſs, and make you ſee
The ſhape of each avenging Deity. Dryden.

And as the ſame Angel (Michael) did alſo from thoſe of Godfrey. Taſſo, Cant. 18. St. 93.

Drizza pur gli occhi à riguardar l'immenſo
Eſſercito immortal, ch' è in aria accolto:
Ch' io dinanzi torrotti il nuuol denſo
Di voſtra humanità, ch' intorno auuolto
Adombrando t' appanna il mortal ſenſo,
Si che vedrai gli ignudi ſpirti in volto:
E ſoſtener per breue ſpatio i rai
De l'angeliche forme anco potrai.

Lift up thine eyes, and in the air behold

The

Which that falſe fruit that promis'd clearer ſight
Had bred; then purg'd with euphraſy and rue
The viſual nerve, for he had much to ſee;
And from the well of life three drops inſtill'd.
So deep the pow'r of theſe ingredients pierc'd,
E'en to th' inmoſt ſeat of mental ſight,
That Adam now enforc'd to cloſe his eyes,
Sunk down, and all his ſpirits became intranc'd;
But him the gentle Angel by the hand
Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.
Adam, now ope thine eyes, and firſt behold
Th'

The ſacred armies, how they muſtred be,
That cloud of fleſh in which for times of old
All mankind wrapped is, I take from thee,
And from thy ſenſes their thick miſt unfold,
That face to face thou mayſt theſe Spirits ſee,
And for a little ſpace right well ſuſtain
Their glorious light, and view thoſe Angels plain. Fairfax.

Theſe paſſages the poet has imitated and improv'd; as in what follows of Adam's ſinking down overpower'd, and then being rais'd again by the hand gently by the Angel, he has copied from Daniel X. 8, &c. *I ſaw this great viſion, and there remained no ſtrength in me—I was in a deep ſleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And behold a hand touched me, which ſet me upon my knees:* or from Rev. I. 17. *And when I ſaw him I fell at his feet as dead; and he laid his right hand upon me, ſaying unto me, Fear not.*

414.—*purg'd with euphraſy and rue*] Cleared the organs of his ſight with *rue* and *euphraſy* or *eye-bright*, ſo named of its clearing virtue. *Hume.*

Rue was uſed in exorciſms, and is therefore called *herb of grace*. Shakeſpear, Richard II. Act 3. Scene 7. See too Hamlet, Act 4. Scene 7.

427. *Nor ſinn'd thy ſin,*] So in Exod. XXXII. 30. *Ye have ſinn'd a great ſin,* 1 John V. 16. *If any man ſee his brother ſin a ſin.* And the ſame manner of ſpeaking has prevail'd among the beſt claſſic authors as well as in Scripture. *Yet from*

Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In ſome to ſpring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted tree, nor with the ſnake conſpir'd,
Nor ſinn'd thy ſin, yet from that ſin derive
Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.
His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were ſheaves
New reap'd, the other part ſheep-walks and folds;
I' th' midſt an altar as the land-mark ſtood,
Ruſtic, of graſſy ſord; thither anon
A ſweaty reaper from his tillage brought;

First

from that ſin derive. The word *ſin* is by miſtake omitted in Milton's ſecond edition, by which the verſe becomes lame and defective.

429. *His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,* &c.] In this great review which Adam takes of all his ſons and daughters, the firſt objects he is preſented with exhibit to him the ſtory of Cain and Abel, which is drawn together with much cloſeneſs and propriety of expreſſion. That curioſity and natural horror, which ariſes in Adam at the ſight of the firſt dying man, is touch'd with great beauty. *Addiſon.*

433. —— *of graſſy ſord;*] That is of turf. The proper word ſeems to be *ſwerd*, but to be corrupted into *ſword* or *ſord* as it is commonly pronounc'd in *green-ſord* and *ſord of bacon*, which may juſtify Milton in ſpelling it *ſord*. Some think it is miſprinted for *ſod*, turf, of the Belgic *ſode*, Italian *terra ſoda* of ſolidum or ſolum: and Mr. Fenton has cauſed it to be printed *ſod*, as Dr. Bentley has very affectedly ſwerd.

434. *A ſweaty reaper from his tillage brought* &c.] It may be proper to compare this account with the ſacred hiſtory, to which it alludes, Gen. IV. 2. &c. *And Abel was a keeper of ſheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And on proceſs of time it came to paſs, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he alſo brought of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof.* The poet adds, that Cain took the fruits *uncull'd, as came to hand*, whereas Abel ſelected the *choiceſt and beſt* of his flock; and in this ſome interpreters have conceiv'd the guilt of Cain to conſiſt. The poet too makes them

Firſt fruits, the green ear, and the yellow ſheaf,
Uncull'd, as came to hand; a ſhepherd next
More meek came with the firſtlings of his flock
Choiceſt and beſt; then ſacrificing, laid
The inwards and their fat, with incenſe ſtrow'd,
On the cleft wood, and all due rites perform'd.
His offering ſoon propitious fire from Heaven
Conſum'd with nimble glance, and grateful ſteam;
The other's not, for his was not ſincere;
Whereat he inly rag'd, and as they talk'd,
Smote him into the midriff with a ſtone
That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale
Groan'd out his ſoul with guſhing blood effus'd.
Much at that ſight was Adam in his heart
Diſmay'd,

them offer both upon the ſame altar, for the word *brought* in Scripture (which Milton likewiſe retains) is underſtood of their bringing their offerings to ſome common place of worſhip: and this altar he makes of turf, *of graſſy ſord*, as the firſt altars are repreſented to be, and deſcribes the ſacrifice ſomewhat in the manner of Homer. The Scripture ſays only that *the Lord had reſpect unto Abel, and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his offering he had not reſpect:* The poet makes this reſpect unto Abel's offering to be a fire from Heaven conſuming it; and herein he is juſtified by the authority of the beſt Commentators Jewiſh and Chriſtian; and there are ſeveral inſtances of ſuch acceptance in Scripture. Cain's was not ſo accepted, *for* (ſays the poet) *his was not ſincere. And Cain was very wroth—And Cain talked with Abel his brother, and it came to paſs when they were in the field, that Cain roſe up againſt Abel his brother, and ſlew him.* The poet makes Cain to *ſmite* him *into the midriff* or diaphragm, a nervous muſcle ſeparating the breaſt from the belly, *with a ſtone*, ſuppoſing it the moſt natural and the moſt ready inſtrument at hand, and ſo Cowley, David I. and in his note 16: but however

Diſmay'd, and thus in haſte to th' Angel cry'd.
O Teacher, ſome great miſchief hath befall'n
To that meek man, who well had ſacrifie'd;
In piety thus and pure devotion paid?
T' whom Michael thus, he alſo mov'd, reply'd.
Theſe two are brethren, Adam, and to come
Out of thy loins; th' unjuſt the juſt hath ſlain,
For envy that his brother's offering found
From Heav'n acceptance; but the bloody fact
Will be aveng'd, and th' other's faith approv'd
Loſe no reward, tho' here thou ſee him die,
Rolling in duſt and gore. To which our ſire.
Alas! both for the deed and for the cauſe!
But have I now ſeen Death? Is this the way

I

ever he makes his blood to be ſpill'd, as the Scripture particularly mentions *the blood of Abel.*

Groan'd out his ſoul with guſhing blood effus'd.

Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.
Virg. Æn. X. 908.

This is very properly made the firſt viſion, and is ſo much inlarg'd upon, as it is of Adam's immediate deſcendents.

458.——*and th' other's faith approv'd*] It was, according to the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, who bears this teſtimony to it, XI. 4. *By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent ſacrifice than Cain, by which he obtain'd witneſs, that he was righteous, God teſtifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead, yet ſpeaketh.*

462. *But have I now ſeen Death? Is this the way* &c.] Our author, in making Adam ſo ignorant of what death was and the way to it, ſeems to have forgot what he had put in the mouth of Eve in the preceding book, ver. 1001.

Let us ſeek Death, or he not found, ſupply

I muſt return to native duſt? O ſight
Of terror, foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!
To whom thus Michaël. Death thou haſt ſeen
In his firſt ſhape on man; but many ſhapes
Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave, all diſmal; yet to ſenſe
More terrible at th' entrance than within.
Some, as thou ſaw'ſt, by violent ſtroke ſhall die,
By fire, flood, famin, by intemp'rance more
In meats and drinks, which on the earth ſhall bring
Diſeaſes dire, of which a monſtrous crew
Before thee ſhall appear; that thou may'ſt know
What miſery th' inabſtinence of Eve

Shall

With our own hands his office on ourſelves:
Why ſtand we longer ſhivering under fears
That ſhow no end but death, and have the power,
Of many ways to die the ſhorteſt chooſing,
Deſtruction with deſtruction to deſtroy? *Thyer.*

467. ——*but many ſhapes*
Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave,] Senec. Phœniſſæ, Act I. 151, 153.

Ubique mors eſt——
——mille ad hanc aditus patent.

477.—*Immediately a place* &c.] The ſecond viſion ſets before him the image of death in a great variety of appearances. The Angel, to give him a general idea of thoſe effects which his guilt had brought upon his poſterity, places before him a large hoſpital or lazar-houſe, fill'd with perſons lying under all kinds of mortal diſeaſes. How finely has the poet told us that the ſick perſons languiſh'd under lingering and incurable diſtempers, by an apt and judicious uſe of ſuch imaginary beings as thoſe I mention'd in my laſt paper!

Shall bring on men. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appear'd, ſad, noiſome, dark,
A lazar-houſe it ſeem'd, wherein were laid
Numbers of all diſeas'd, all maladies
Of ghaſtly ſpaſm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-ſick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulſions, epilepſies, fierce catarrhs,
Inteſtin ſtone and ulcer, colic pangs,
Demoniac phrenzy, moaping melancholy,
And moon-ſtruck madneſs, pining atrophy,
Maraſmus, and wide-waſting peſtilence,
Dropſies, and aſthma's, and joint-racking rheums.
Dire was the toſſing, deep the groans; Deſpair
Tended the ſick buſieſt from couch to couch;
And

paper! The paſſion, which likewiſe riſes in Adam on this occaſion, is very natural. The diſcourſe between the Angel and Adam which follows, abounds with noble morals. *Addiſon.*

487. *Maraſmus,*] The word is Greek, and it ſignifies a kind of conſumption, accompanied with a fever waſting the body by degrees; but we ſhould obſerve that theſe verſes,

Demoniac phrenzy, moaping melancholy,
And moon-ſtruck madneſs, pining atrophy,
Maraſmus, and wide-waſting peſtilence,

were not in the firſt, but were added by the author in the ſecond edition, to ſwell the horror of the deſcription. Dr. Bentley is for ſtriking them out again, but Mr. Pope ſays they are three admirable lines.

489. *Dire was the toſſing, deep the groans; Deſpair* &c.] This is entirely in the picturesque manner of Spenſer, and ſeems to allude particularly to that beautiful paſſage, where deſcribing the way to *Pluto's griſly reign*, he repreſents Pain, Strife, Revenge, &c. as ſo many perſons aſſem-

And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to ſtrike, though oft invok'd
With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
Sight ſo deform what heart of rock could long
Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born; compaſſion quell'd
His beſt of man, and gave him up to tears
A ſpace, till firmer thoughts reſtrain'd exceſs;
And ſcarce recovering words his plaint renew'd.
O miſerable mankind, to what fall
Degraded, to what wretched ſtate reſerv'd!
Better end here unborn. Why is life given
To be thus wreſted from us? rather why
Obtruded on us thus? who if we knew

What

aſſembled, and over them ſat Horror ſoaring with grim hue, and beating his iron wings. Faery Queen, Book 2. Cant. 7. St. 21. to St. 24.

By that way's ſide there ſat infernal Pain, &c. *Thyer.*

The breaks and pauſes in this verſe are admirable; and this beauty is improv'd by each period's beginning with the ſame letter *d*.

*D*ire was the toſſing, *d*eep the groans; *D*eſpair

Subſtitute any other word in the room of *dire* or *deep*, and you will perceive the difference. And then follows

And over them triumphant death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to ſtrike.

As the image is wonderfully fine, ſo it is excellently expreſs'd with the pauſe upon the firſt ſyllable of the verſe, *ſhook*. One thinks one almoſt ſees the dart ſhaking. How much better is this than Virgil's Æn. XI. 767.

—— et certam quatit improbus haſtam!

If the line was to be alter'd, as thus

And o'er them death triumphant ſhook his dart,

much

What we receive, would either not accept
Life offer'd, or ſoon beg to lay it down,
Glad to be ſo diſmiſs'd in peace. Can thus
Th' image of God in man created once
So goodly and erect, though faulty ſince,
To ſuch unſightly ſufferings be debas'd
Under inhuman pains? Why ſhould not man,
Retaining ſtill divine ſimilitude
In part, from ſuch deformities be free,
And for his Maker's image ſake exempt?
Their Maker's image, anſwer'd Michael, then
Forſook them, when themſelves they vilify'd
To ſerve ungovern'd appetite, and took
His image whom they ſerv'd, a brutiſh vice,

In-

much of the fire and ſpirit would be loſt. The reader may ſee other beauties of the ſame kind in the note upon IV. 351. And there are ſeveral examples of it in Homer, but the Latin language ſeems hardly capable of it; at leaſt I cannot recollect an inſtance in Virgil, who is the great maſter of verſification.

495. ——*Adam wept*
Though not of woman born; compaſſion quell'd
His beſt of man, and gave him up to tears] This thought (as Mr. Whalley obſerves) is certainly from Shakeſpear, whoſe words Milton has preſerved at the cloſe of the ſentence.

I had not ſo much of man about me,
But all my mother came into my eyes,
And gave me up to tears.
Henry V. Act IV.

517. *To ſerve ungovern'd appetite,*] Appetite here is made a perſon: *and took his image whom they ſerv'd,* that is ungovern'd appetite's, *a brutiſh vice,* that was the principal occaſion of the ſin of *Eve, inductive mainly to the ſin of Eve.* How different is this image of God's image, when (as we read in IV. 291.)

Inductive mainly to the ſin of Eve.
Therefore ſo abject is their puniſhment,
Diſfiguring not God's likeneſs, but their own,
Or if his likeneſs, by themſelves defac'd,
While they pervert pure nature's healthful rules
To loathſome ſickneſs, worthily, ſince they
God's image did not reverence in themſelves.

I yield it juſt, ſaid Adam, and ſubmit.
But is there yet no other way, beſides
Theſe painful paſſages, how we may come
To death, and mix with our connatural duſt?

There is, ſaid Michael, if thou well obſerve
The rule of not too much, by temp'rance taught,
In what thou eat'ſt and drink'ſt, ſeeking from thence
Due nouriſhment, not gluttonous delight,
Till many years over thy head return:
So may'ſt thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop

Into

——in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker ſhone,
Truth, wiſdom, ſanctitude ſevere and pure!

531. *The rule of not too much,*] Ne quid nimis.

537. *Gather'd, not harſhly pluck'd, for death mature:*] He ſeems to have had in mind this paſſage of Cicero de Senect. 19. Et quaſi poma ex arboribus, cruda ſi ſint, vi avelluntur; ſi matura et cocta, decidunt: ſic vitam adoleſcentibus vis aufert, ſenibus maturitas.

538. *But then thou muſt outlive* &c.] There is ſomething very juſt and poetical in this deſcription of the miſeries of old age, ſo finely contraſted as they are with the oppoſit pleaſures of youth. It is indeed ſhort,

Into thy mother's lap, or be with eaſe
Gather'd, not harſhly pluck'd, for death mature:
This is old age; but then thou muſt outlive
Thy youth, thy ſtrength, thy beauty, which will change
To wither'd, weak, and gray; thy ſenſes then
Obtuſe, all taſte of pleaſure muſt forgo,
To what thou haſt; and for the air of youth,
Hopeful and chearful, in thy blood will reign
A melancholy damp of cold and dry
To weigh thy ſpirits down, and laſt conſume
The balm of life. To whom our anceſtor.

Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
Life much, bent rather how I may be quit
Faireſt and eaſieſt of this cumbrous charge,
Which I muſt keep till my appointed day
Of rendring up, and patiently attend
My diſſolution. Michaël reply'd.

Nor

ſhort, but vaſtly expreſſive, and I think ought to excite the pity as well as the admiration of the reader; ſince the poor poet is here no doubt deſcribing what he felt at the time he wrote it, being then in the decline of life, and troubled with various infirmities. *Thyer.*

551. —*and patiently attend*
My diſſolution,] In the firſt edition it was thus,

Which I muſt keep till my appointed day
Of rendring up, Michael to him reply'd.

But I ſuppoſe the author thought that ending too abrupt, and therefore added theſe words in the ſecond edition, and omitted *to him* for the verſe ſake.

Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'ſt
Live well, how long or ſhort permit to Heaven:
And now prepare thee for another ſight.
He look'd, and ſaw a ſpacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue; by ſome were herds
Of cattel grazing; others, whence the ſound
Of inſtruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ; and who mov'd
Their ſtops and chords was ſeen; his volant touch
Inſtinct through all proportions low and high
Fled and purſu'd tranſverſe the reſonant fugue
In

553. *Nor love thy life, nor hate;*] Martial. Lib. 10.

Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

554. —— *permit to Heaven:*] Permitte Divis. Hor. Od. I. IX. 9.

556. *He look'd, and ſaw a ſpacious plain,* &c.] As there is nothing more delightful in poetry than a contraſt and oppoſition of incidents, the author after this melancholy proſpect of death and ſickneſs, raiſes up a ſcene of mirth, love, and jollity. The ſecret pleaſure that ſteals into Adam's heart, as he is intent upon this viſion, is imagin'd with great delicacy. I muſt not omit the deſcription of the looſe female troop, who ſeduced the ſons of God, as they are call'd in Scripture.

For that fair female troop thou ſaw'ſt, &c. *Addiſon.*

557. *Were tents of various hue;* &c.] Theſe were the tents of the poſterity of Cain, as the author himſelf afterwards inſtructs us; *by ſome were herds of cattel grazing*; theſe belong'd to *Jabal, he was the father of ſuch as dwell in tents, and of ſuch as have cattel.* Gen. IV. 20. *Others, whence the ſound was heard of harp and organ*; theſe belong'd to *Jubal, he was the father of all ſuch as handle the harp and organ.* Gen. IV. 21. *In other part ſtood one at the forge,* this was *Tubal-Cain, an inſtructor of every artificer in braſs and iron.* Gen. IV. 22.

562. *Inſtinct through all proportions* &c.] His nimble fingers, as if inſpired, flew through all the various diſtances of ſound, o'er *all proportions, low or high*, treble or baſe, and through all its parts followed the ſounding ſymphony. A *fugue* (of

In other part ſtood one who at the forge
Lab'ring, two maſſy clods of ir'on and braſs
Had melted, (whether found where caſual fire
Had waſted woods on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth, thence gliding hot
To ſome cave's mouth, or whether waſh'd by ſtream
From underground) the liquid ore he drain'd
Into fit molds prepar'd; from which he form'd
Firſt his own tools; then, what might elſe be wrought
Fuſil or grav'n in metal. After theſe,
But on the hither ſide, a different ſort
From

(of *fuga* Latin, a flight) is in muſic the correſpondency of parts, anſwering one another in the ſame notes, either above or below; therefore exactly and graphically ſtiled *reſonant*, as ſounding the ſame notes over again. *Hume.*

Milton is the more particular in this deſcription, as he was himſelf a lover of muſic, and a performer upon the organ.

565.—*two maſſy clods of ir'on and braſs*
Had melted, (whether found where caſual fire
Had waſted woods on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth,——]

From Lucretius, V. 1240.

Quod ſupereſt, æs atque aurum, ferrumque repertum eſt,
Et ſimul argenti pondus, plumbique poteſtas;
Ignis ubi ingentes ſilvas ardore cremârat
Montibus in magnis.

But theſe verſes want emendation. Plumbi poteſtas is nonſenſe. The ſtop ſhould be placed thus:

Et ſimul argenti pondus, plumbique, poteſtas
Ignis ubi ingentes *&c.*

Argenti pondus plumbique, as in Virgil, argenti pondus et auri. Poteſtas ignis expreſſes the conſuming power of fire. We have potentia ſolis in Virgil, and poteſtates herbarum. *Jortin.*

573. *Fuſil or grav'n*] By melting or carving *Hume.*

573.—*After theſe,*] As being the deſcendents of the younger brother, *but on the hither ſide*, Cain having been baniſh'd into a more diſtent country, *a different ſort*, the poſterity

From the high neighb'ring hills, which was their ſeat,
Down to the plain deſcended: by their guiſe
Juſt men they ſeem'd, and all their ſtudy bent
To worſhip God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor thoſe things laſt which might preſerve
Freedom and peace to men: they on the plain
Long had not walk'd, when from the tents behold
A bevy of fair women, richly gay
In gems and wanton dreſs; to th' harp they ſung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on:
The men though grave, ey'd them, and let their eyes
Rove without rein, till in the amorous net
Faſt caught, they lik'd, and each his liking choſe;
And now of love they treat, till th' evening ſtar
Love's harbinger, appear'd; then all in heat

They

poſterity of Seth wholly different from that of Cain, *from the high neighb'ring hills, which was their ſeat*, having their habitation in the mountains near Paradiſe, *down to the plain deſcended*, where the Cainites dwelt: *by their guiſe juſt men they ſeem'd, and all their ſtudy bent to worſhip God aright*, the Scripture itſelf ſpeaks of them as the worſhippers of the true God, *and know his works not hid*, and Joſephus and other writers inform us that they were addicted to the ſtudy of natural philoſophy, and eſpecially of aſtronomy (Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. c. 2.) *nor thoſe things laſt* (in the firſt edition it is *loſt*, but afterwards corrected among the Errata,) *which might preſerve*, nor was it their laſt care and ſtudy to know thoſe things which might preſerve *freedom and peace to men*. Tho' this account of the Sethites be in the general agreeable to Scripture, yet the particulars of their living in the mountains near Paradiſe, and of their deſcending thence into the plain, and their corrupting themſelves in that manner with the daughters of Cain, our author ſeems

to

They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then firſt to marriage rites invok'd:
With feaſt and muſic all the tents reſound.
Such happy interview and fair event
Of love and youth not loſt, ſongs, garlands, flowers,
And charming ſymphonies attach'd the heart
Of Adam, ſoon inclin'd t' admit delight,
The bent of nature; which he thus expreſs'd.

True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel bleſt,
Much better ſeems this viſion, and more hope
Of peaceful days portends, than thoſe two paſt;
Thoſe were of hate and death, or pain much worſe,
Here nature ſeems fulfill'd in all her ends.

To whom thus Michael. Judge not what is beſt
By pleaſure, though to nature ſeeming meet,

Created,

to have taken from the oriental writers, and particularly from the Annals of Eutychius.

582. *A bevy of fair women,*] A *bevy* is a company, of the Italian *beva* (ſays Hume) a covey of partridges. It is a word uſed by Chaucer, and by Spenſer likewiſe of a company of women, Faery Queen, B. 2. Cant. 9, St. 34.

A lovely *bevy* of fair Ladies ſat.

And B. 4. Cant. 10. St. 48.

A *bevy* of fair damſels cloſe did lie.

And B. 5. Cant. 9. St. 31.

A *bevy* of fair virgins clad in white.

And by Shakeſpear, Henry VIII. Act I.

——None here he hopes,
In all this noble *bevy*, has brought with her
One care abroad.

586. *—till in the amorous net*
Faſt caught, they lik'd,] Dr. Bentley finding *firſt* in the later editions, ſays that Milton muſt have given it *faſt*: and ſo he did in both the editions publiſhed in his life time.

Pearce.

588.—*till th' evening ſtar,* &c.] See the note on VIII. 519.

614. *For*

Created, as thou art, to nobler end
Holy and pure, conformity divine.
Thoſe tents thou ſaw'ſt ſo pleaſant, were the tents
Of wickedneſs, wherein ſhall dwell his race
Who ſlew his brother; ſtudious they appear
Of arts that poliſh life, inventors rare,
Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
Yet they a beauteous ofspring ſhall beget;
For that fair female troop thou ſaw'ſt, that ſeem'd
Of Goddeſſes, ſo blithe, ſo ſmooth, ſo gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein conſiſts
Woman's domeſtic honor and chief praiſe;
Bred only and completed to the taſte
Of luſtful appetence, to ſing, to dance,

To

614. *For that fair female troop thou ſaw'ſt,*] The conſtruction is not, as ſome may apprehend, *For that fair female troop* (which) *thou ſaw'ſt*; but *thou ſaw'ſt that fair female troop, that ſeem'd* &c. which is a ſufficient proof of the poſterity of Cain *begetting a beauteous ofspring.*

621. *To theſe that ſober race of men,* &c.] As we read in Gen. VI. 2. *The ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they choſe.* It is now generally agreed that this paſſage is to be underſtood of the ſons of Seth, the worſhippers of the true God, making matches with the idolatrous daughters of wicked Cain; and Milton very rightly puts this conſtruction upon it here, though elſewhere he ſeems to give into the old exploded conceit of the Angels becoming enamour'd of the daughters of men. See III. 463. and the note there, and likewiſe V. 447. and Parad. Reg. II. 178 *&c.*

627. *The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep.*] Dr. Bentley

To dreſs, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye.
To theſe that ſober race of men, whoſe lives
Religious titled them the ſons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the ſmiles
Of theſe fair atheiſts, and now ſwim in joy,
Erelong to ſwim at large; and laugh, for which
The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep.
To whom thus Adam of ſhort joy bereft.
O pity' and ſhame, that they who to live well
Enter'd ſo fair, ſhould turn aſide to tread
Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint!
But ſtill I ſee the tenor of Man's woe
Holds on the ſame, from Woman to begin.
From Man's effeminate ſlackneſs it begins,

Said

ley obſerves that this *world* and *world* is a jingle, and that *a world of tears* is a low expreſſion. He would therefore read *a flood of tears*: as Milton ſpeaks in ver. 757. But if this verſe be blameable on this account, yet our poet has uſed the ſame way of ſpeaking in IX. 11.

That brought into this *world* a *world* of woe.

I think that the foregoing part of this ſentence ſhould be pointed thus,

——and now ſwim in joy,
Erelong to ſwim at large; and laugh, for which
The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep.

For *ſwimming in joy* and *ſwimming at large* are oppos'd to each other, as are likewiſe *laughing* and *weeping a world of tears*. Pearce.

As the ſenſe is ſo much improv'd by this pointing, we cannot but prefer it to Milton's own, which was thus:

——and now ſwim in joy
(Erelong to ſwim at large) and laugh; for which
The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep.

638. *He*

Said th' Angel, who ſhould better hold his place
By wiſdom and ſuperior gifts receiv'd.
But now prepare thee for another ſcene.
He look'd, and ſaw wide territory ſpread
Before him, towns, and rural works between,
Cities of men with lofty gates and towers,
Concourſe in arms, fierce faces threatning war,
Giants of mighty bone, and bold empriſe;
Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming ſteed,
Single or in array of battel rang'd
Both horſe and foot, nor idly muſt'ring ſtood;
One way a band ſelect from forage drives
A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine

From

638. *He look'd, and ſaw wide territory ſpread* &c.] The next viſion is of a quite contrary nature, and filled with the horrors of war. Adam at the ſight of it melts into tears, and breaks out into that paſſionate ſpeech,

——O what are theſe,
Death's miniſters, not men &c.—
Addiſon.

642.—*empriſe*;] An old word for enterpriſe. It is uſed in the Maſk.

Alas! good ventrous Youth,
I love thy courage yet, and *bold empriſe.*

645.—*nor idly muſt'ring ſtood*;] One can't perceive the pertinence of this without ſuppoſing that it hinted at the circumſtances of the land-army at that time. *Warburton.*

651.—*which makes a bloody fray*;] So it was alter'd for the better in the ſecond edition; it was *tacks a bloody fray* in the firſt edition; which is not ſo plain and intelligible.

660. *In other part the ſcepter'd heralds call* &c.] It may be noted here once for all, that in this viſionary part Milton has frequently had his eye upon his maſter Homer, and ſeveral of the images which are repreſented to Adam are copies of the deſcriptions on the ſhield of Achilles, Iliad. XVIII.

His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,

Part

From a fat meadow ground; or fleecy flock,
Ewes and their bleating lambs over the plain,
Their booty; ſcarce with life the ſhepherds fly,
But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray;
With cruel torneament the ſquadrons join;
Where cattel paſtur'd late, now ſcatter'd lies
With carcaſſes and arms th' inſanguin'd field
Deſerted: Others to a city ſtrong
Lay ſiege, incamp'd; by battery, ſcale, and mine,
Aſſaulting; others from the wall defend
With dart and javelin, ſtones and ſulphurous fire;
On each hand ſlaughter and gigantic deeds.
In other part the ſcepter'd heralds call

To

Part arable and tilth, whereon were ſheaves
New reap'd, the other part ſheep-walks and folds.

Here ſtretch'd in ranks the level'd ſwarths are found,
Sheaves heap'd on ſheaves, here thicken up the ground. Pope.

Is not this Homer's deſcription a little contracted? ver 550 &c.

Εν δ' ειθει τεμενος βαθυληιον· ενθα δ' εριθοι
Ημων, οξειας δρεπανας εν χερσι νεχοντες.
Δραγμαι δ' αλλαι μετ' οσμον επηρειμα πιπτον εραζε,
Αλλαι δ' αμαλλοδετηρες εν ελλεδανοισι δεσιλο.

Another field roſe high with waving grain;
With bended ſickles ſtand the reaper train.

And ver. 587. &c.

Εν δε νομον ποιησε περικλυτος Αμφιγυηεις
Εν καλη βησση μηλων οιων αργεννων,
Σταθμους τε, κλισιας τε, καλυπτρια δωα συηων.

Next this, the eye the art of Vulcan leads
Deep thro' fair foreſts, and a length of meads;
And ſtalls, and folds, and ſcatter'd cotts between,
And fleecy flocks that whiten all the ſcene.

The

To council in the city gates: anon
Grey-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,
Assemble, and harrangues are heard, but soon
In factious opposition, till at last

Of

The vision of marriages,

They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke,
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd:
With feast and music all the tents resound.

Is it not a most beautiful and exact copy of Homer? ver. 491, &c.

—Εν τη μεν ρα γαμοι τ' ησαν ειλαπιναι τε·
Νυμφας δ' εκ θαλαμων, δαΐδων υπολαμπομεναων,
Ηγινεον ανα αστυ· πολυς δ' υμεναιος ορωρει.
Κουροι δ' ορχηστηρες εδινεον· εν δ' αρα τοισιν
Αυλοι, φορμιγγες τε βοην εχον·—

Here sacred pomp, and genial feast delight,
And solemn dance, and hymenæal rite;
Along the street the new-made brides are led,
With torches flaming, to the nuptial bed:
The youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the soft flute, and cittern's silver sound.

And in like manner the driving away of the sheep and oxen from forage, and the battel which thereupon ensues may be compared with the following passage in Homer; ver. 527 &c.

Οι μεν τα προϊδοντες επεδραμον, αυτικα δ' επειλα
Ταμνοντ' αμφι βοων αγελας και πωεα καλα
Αρνειων οιων· κλεινον δ' επι μηλοδοπηρας.
Οι δ' ως τε επυθοντο πολυν καλαδον παρα βουσιν,
Ιρων πριπαροιθε καθημενοι, αυτικ' επ' ιππων
Βαινες αειρσιποδων μετεκιαθον· αιψα δ' ικοντο.
Στησαμενοι δ' εμαχοντο μαχην πολεμοιο περ' οχθας.

In arms the glitt'ring squadron rising round,
Rush sudden; hills of slaughter heap the ground,
Whole flocks and herds lie bleeding on the plains,
And, all amidst them, dead, the shepherd swains.
The bellowing oxen the besiegers hear,
They rise, take horse, approach, and meet the war;
They fight, they fall, beside the silver flood,
The waving silver seem'd to blush with blood.

The representation of the city besieg'd here in Milton,

——Others to a city strong
Lay siege, incamp'd; &c.

the

Of middle age one riſing, eminent,
In wiſe deport, ſpake much of right and wrong,
Of juſtice, of religion, truth and peace,
And judgment from above: him old and young
Ex-

the reader will find it to be a very great improvement upon that in Homer, ver. 509 &c.

Την δ' ἑτερην πολιν αμφι δυο στρατοι εἰαλο λαων
Τευχεσι λαμπομενοι·

Another part (a proſpect differing far)
Glow'd with refulgent arms, and horrid war.
Two mighty hoſts a leaguer'd town embrace, &c.

As the council in the one

In other part the ſcepter'd heralds call
To council in the city gates: anon
Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,
Aſſemble, and harangues are heard, &c.

ſeems to be of much more importance than that in the other, ver. 503 &c.

Κηρυκες δ' αρα λαον ερηϋνον οἱ δε γερονλες
Ἑιατ' επι ξεστοισι λιθοις, ἱερω ενι κυκλω.
Σκηπτρα δε κηρυκων εν χερσ' ἐχον ηεροφωνων·
Τοισιν επειτ' ηϊσσον, αμοιβηδις δ' ἑδικαζον·

Th' appointed heralds ſtill the noiſy bands,
And form a ring, with ſcepters in their hands;
On ſeats of ſtone, within the ſacred place,
The rev'rend elders nodded o'er the caſe;
Alternate, each th' atteſting ſcepter took,
And riſing ſolemn, each his ſentence ſpoke.

The deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles is certainly one of the fineſt pieces of poetry in the whole Iliad, and our author has plainly ſhown his admiration and affection for it by borrowing ſo many ſcenes and images from it: but I think we may ſay that they do not like other copies fall ſhort of the originals, but generally exceed them, and receive this additional beauty, that they are moſt of them made repreſentations of real hiſtories and matters of fact.

661. *To council in the city gates:*] For there aſſemblies were anciently held, and the judges uſed to ſit, Gen. XXXIV. 20. Deut. XVI. 18. XXI. 19. Zech. VIII. 16.

665. *Of middle age one riſing,*] Enoch ſaid to be *of middle age*, becauſe he was tranſlated when he was but 365 years old; a middle age then. Gen. V. 23. *Richardſon.*

668. *And judgment from above:*] It appears from holy Writ, that he was not only a good man, *and walked with God*, Gen. V. 24. but that he re-

Exploded and had ſeis'd with violent hands,
Had not a cloud deſcending ſnatch'd him thence
Unſeen amid the throng: ſo violence
Proceeded, and oppreſſion, and ſword-law
Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
Lamenting turn'd full ſad; O what are theſe,
Death's miniſters, not men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thouſandfold the ſin of him who ſlew
His brother: for of whom ſuch maſſacre
Make they but of their brethren, men of men?
But who was that juſt man, whom had not Heaven
Reſcued, had in his righteouſneſs been loſt?
To whom thus Michael. Theſe are the product
Of

remonſtrated likewiſe againſt the wickedneſs of mankind, and denounc'd the heavy judgment of God upon them, Jude 14. *Behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſands of his Saints to execute judgment upon all*, &c. which the poet alludes to more plainly afterwards, ver. 704.

——that God would come
To judge them with his Saints.—

638. *To whom thus Michael.*] *Theſe are the product*] The accent upon the word *product* is to be varied *produ*ct or *pro*duct, according as you pronounce the word *Michael* with two or three ſyllables.

668. *Such were theſe giants, men of high renown;*] Gen. VI. 4. *There were giants in the earth in thoſe days; and alſo after that, when the ſons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the ſame became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown.* Some commentators underſtand by the word which we tranſlate *giants*, men of large bulk and ſtature; others conceive them to be no more than robbers and tyrants: Our author includes

Of thoſe ill mated marriages thou ſaw'ſt;
Where good with bad were match'd, who of themſelves
Abhor to join; and by imprudence mix'd,
Produce prodigious births of body' or mind.
Such were theſe giants, men of high renown;
For in thoſe days might only ſhall be' admir'd,
And valor and heroic virtue call'd;
To overcome in battel, and ſubdue
Nations, and bring home ſpoils with infinite
Man-ſlaughter, ſhall be held the higheſt pitch
Of human glory, and for glory done
Of triumph, to be ſtil'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, Gods, and ſons of Gods,
Deſtroyers rightlier call'd and plagues of men.
Thus fame ſhall be achiev'd, renown on earth,

And

includes both interpretations, and leaves the choice to the reader, *prodigious births of body or mind.*

691. *To overcome in battel,* &c.] This character drawn more maſterly in Parad. Reg. III. 71.

They err who count it glorious
&c. *Warburton.*

694. ——*and for glory done*
Of triumph, to be ſtil'd great conquerors,] Milton had ſaid before that it *ſhall be held the higheſt pitch of glory, to ſubdue nations and bring home their ſpoils:* and here he adds (for this I take to be his ſenſe) that it ſhall be held *the higheſt pitch of triumph for that glory* obtain'd, *to be ſtil'd great conquerors.* So that though I approve of Dr. Bentley's changing *done* into *won,* I cannot agree to his altering *Of triumph* to *Or triumph.* Pearce.

This is one of the moſt difficult paſſages. I am not ſatisfied with the conjectures of either of theſe learned men, and ſee no other way of underſtanding it but this. *To overcome, to ſubdue, to ſpoil, ſhall be held the higheſt pitch of glory, and* ſhall be

And what moſt merits fame in ſilence hid.
But he the ſev'nth from thee, whom thou beheldſt
The only righteous in a world perverſe,
And therefore hated, therefore ſo beſet
With foes for daring ſingle to be juſt,
And utter odious truth, that God would come
To judge them with his Saints: him the moſt High
Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged ſteeds
Did,

done for glory & triumph, ſhall be achiev'd for that end and purpoſe, *to be ſtil'd great conquerors* &c.]

700. *But he the ſev'nth from thee,*] Jude 14. *And Enoch alſo the ſeventh from Adam* &c.

707. *Did, as thou ſaw'ſt, receive,*] It is commonly apprehended from a paſſage in Mr. Pope's Eſſay on Criticiſm, that all auxiliary verbs are mere expletives,

While expletives their feeble aid *do* join.

But this I believe Mr. Pope never intended to advance. Milton has uſed them in many places, where he could have avoided if he had pleaſed. I will produce one,

Did, as thou ſaw'ſt, receive——

Milton might have ſaid

Receiv'd, as thou haſt ſeen,

But he thought the auxiliary verb added ſtrength to the expreſſion, as indeed it does. I own where the auxiliary verb is brought cloſe to its principal, and that a thin monoſyllable, as in the line juſt now referred to, the verſe is very rude and diſagreeable. But to prove that the auxiliary verb may be employ'd properly, I will produce an inſtance in rim'd verſe, as ſtrong as that of Milton juſt mention'd.

Then *did* the roaring waves their rage compoſe,
When the great father of the flood aroſe. Pitt's firſt Æneid.

I believe it will not be diſputed, but that this line is as full, as ſonorous, and majeſtic as if the auxiliary verb had been left out, and the author had us'd *compos'd* inſtead of *did compoſe*. The expreſſion is certainly more beautiful and more poetical; and the reaſon of it is, that it occaſions ſuſpenſe, which raiſes the attention; or in other words, the auxiliary verb gives notice of ſomething coming, before the principal thing itſelf appears, which is another property of majeſty. Mr. Dryden's authority might

Did, as thou ſaw'ſt, receive, to walk with God
High in ſalvation and the climes of bliſs,
Exempt from death; to ſhow thee what reward
Awaits the good; the reſt what puniſhment;
Which now direct thine eyes and ſoon behold.
He look'd, and ſaw the face of things quite chang'd;
The brazen throat of war had ceas'd to roar;
All now was turn'd to jollity and game,

To

might likewiſe be added on this occaſion; even in his celebrated lines on Milton it is to be met with,

Greece, Italy, and England *did* adorn.

In his tranſlation of the Æneid there are many inſtances of the ſame nature, one of which I will mention,

The queen of Heav'n *did* thus her fury vent.

The meter of this line, as the words are here rang'd, is not bad, as the ear can judge; but it would have been extremely ſo, if he had writ it thus,

The queen of Heav'n her fury thus *did* vent.

From whence it appears that the auxiliary verb is not to be rejected at all times; beſides it is a particular idiom of the Engliſh language, and has a majeſty in it ſuperior to the Latin or Greek tongue, and I believe to any other language whatſoever. Many inſtances might be brought to ſupport this aſſertion from great authorities. I ſhall produce one from Shakeſpear,

——this to me
In dreadful ſecrecy impart they *did*.

The auxiliary verb is here very properly made uſe of; and it would be a great loſs to Engliſh poetry, if it were to be wholly laid aſide. See *Letters concerning poetical tranſlations* &c. p. 8, 9, 10.

711. *Which now direct thine eyes and ſoon behold.*] The ſyntax is remarkable. *Which* govern'd not by the verb next following, but by the laſt in the ſentence.

712. *He look'd, and ſaw the face of things quite chang'd;*] Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his viſions, after having raiſed in the mind of his reader the ſeveral ideas of terror which are conformable to the deſcription of war, paſſes on to thoſe ſofter images of triumphs and feſtivals, in that viſion of lewdneſs and luxury, which uſhers in the flood. *Addiſon.*

To luxury and riot, feaſt and dance,
Marrying or proſtituting as befel,
Rape or adultery, where paſſing fair
Allur'd them; thence from cups to civil broils.
At length a reverend ſire among them came,
And of their doings great diſlike declar'd
And teſtify'd againſt their ways; he oft
Frequented their aſſemblies, whereſo met,
Triumphs or feſtivals, and to them preach'd
Converſion and repentance, as to ſouls
In priſon under judgments imminent:
But all in vain: which when he ſaw, he ceas'd

Con-

723. ——*preach'd*
Converſion and repentance, as to ſouls
In priſon] This account of Noah's preaching is founded chiefly upon St. Peter, 2 Pet. II. 5. *Noah, a preacher of righteouſneſs*, and 1 Pet. III. 19, 20. *By which alſo he went and preached unto the ſpirits in priſon, which ſometime were diſobedient, when once the long-ſuffering of God waited in the days of Noah:* As what follows of Noah's deſiſting when he found his preaching ineffectual, and removing into another country, is taken from Joſephus, Antiq. Lib. 1. c. 3.

730. *Meaſur'd by cubit, length, and*
breadth, and highth.] The dimenſions of the ark are given Gen. VI. 15. *The length of the ark ſhall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the highth of it thirty cubits.* A cubit is the meaſure from the elbow to the fingers ends, and is reckon'd a foot and a half, or (according to Biſhop Cumberland) 21 inches 888 decimals.

731. *Smear'd round with pitch,*
and in the ſide a door &c.] Gen. VI. 14. *Thou ſhalt pitch it within and without with pitch; and the door of the ark ſhalt thou ſet in the ſide thereof.* ver. 16. *And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou ſhalt gather it to thee; and it ſhall be for food for thee and for them.*

732.—*and of proviſions laid in*
large] He uſes the adjective adverbially here and elſewhere, as is common in Latin. Magnumque fluentem Nilum. Virg. Georg. III. 28. Sole recens orto. Georg. III. 156.

735. *Came*

Contending, and remov'd his tents far off;
Then from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a veſſel of huge bulk,
Meaſur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth,
Smear'd round with pitch, and in the ſide a door
Contriv'd, and of proviſions laid in large
For man and beaſt: when lo a wonder ſtrange!
Of every beaſt, and bird, and inſect ſmall
Came ſev'ns, and pairs, and enter'd in, as taught
Their order: laſt the fire, and his three ſons
With their four wives; and God made faſt the door.
Mean while the ſouth-wind roſe, and with black wings
Wide

735. *Came ſev'ns, and pairs,*] *Sevens* of clean creatures, and *pairs* of unclean. For this and other particulars here mention'd, See Gen. VII.

738. *Mean while the ſouth-wind roſe,* &c.] As it is viſible that the poet had his eye upon Ovid's account of the univerſal deluge, the reader may obſerve with how much judgment he has avoided every thing that is redundant or puerile in the Latin poet. We do not ſee here the wolf ſwimming among the ſheep, nor any of thoſe wanton imaginations, which Seneca found fault with, as unbecoming the great cataſtrophe of nature. If our poet has imitated that verſe in which Ovid tells us that there was nothing but ſea, and that this ſea had no ſhore to it, he has not ſet the thought in ſuch a light as to incur the cenſure which critics have paſſed upon it. The latter part of that verſe in Ovid is idle and ſuperfluous, but juſt and beautiful in Milton:

Jamque mare et tellus nullum diſcrimen habebant,
Nil niſi pontus erat, deerant quoque littora ponto.

——Sea cover'd ſea,
Sea without ſhore.——

In Milton the former part of the deſcription does not foreſtall the latter. How much more great and ſolemn on this occaſion is that which follows in our Engliſh poet,

——and in their palaces
Where luxury late reign'd, ſea-monſter's whelp'd
And ſtabled——

Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove
From under Heav'n; the hills to their ſupply
Vapor, and exhalation duſk and moiſt,
Sent up amain; and now the thicken'd ſky
Like a dark cieling ſtood; down ruſh'd the rain
Im-

than that in Ovid, where we are told that the ſea calfs lay in thoſe places where the goats were uſed to browze? The reader may find ſeveral other parallel paſſages in the Latin and Engliſh deſcription of the deluge, wherein our poet has viſibly the advantage. The ſky's being overcharged with clouds, the deſcending of the rains, the riſing of the ſeas, and the appearance of the rainbow, are ſuch deſcriptions as every one muſt take notice of. The circumſtance relating to Paradiſe is ſo finely imagin'd, and ſuitable to the opinions of many learned authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this paper;

——then ſhall this mount
Of Paradiſe by might of waves be mov'd &c.

The tranſition which the poet makes from the viſion of the deluge, to the concern it occaſion'd in Adam, is exquiſitely graceful, and copied after Virgil, though the firſt thought it introduces is rather in the ſpirit of Ovid,

How didſt thou grieve then, Adam, to behold &c.

I have been the more particular in my quotations out of the eleventh book of Paradiſe Loſt, becauſe it is not generally reckon'd among the moſt ſhining books of this poem; for which reaſon the reader might be apt to overlook thoſe many paſſages in it which deſerve our admiration. The eleventh and twelfth are indeed built upon that ſingle circumſtance of the removal of our firſt parents from Paradiſe; but tho' this is not in itſelf ſo great a ſubject as that in moſt of the foregoing books, it is extended and diverſified with ſo many ſurpriſing incidents and pleaſing epiſodes, that theſe two laſt books can by no means be looked upon as unequal parts of this divine poem. I muſt farther add, that had not Milton repreſented our firſt parents as driven out of Paradiſe, his fall of man would not have been complete, and conſequently his action would have been imperfect. *Addiſon.*

The reader may farther compare the following paſſages with Milton, and he will eaſily ſee the ſuperiority of the Engliſh poet. Ovid. Met. I. 264.

—Madidis notus evolat alis,
Terribilem piceâ tectus caligine vultum.
Utque manu latâ pendentia nubila preſſit,
Fit

Impetuous, and continued till the earth
No more was ſeen; the floting veſſel ſwum
Uplifted, and ſecure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o'er the waves; all dwellings elſe
Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their pomp
Deep

Fit fragor; hinc denſi funduntur ab æthere nimbi.
Nuncia Junonis varios induta colores
Concepit Iris aquas, alimentaque nubibus adfert,——
Expatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos;
Cumque ſatis arbuſta ſimul, pecudeſque viroſque,
Tectaque, cumque ſuis rapiunt penetralia ſacris.

The ſouth he loos'd, who night and horror brings;
And fogs are ſhaken from his flaggy wings;
Still as he ſwept along with his clench'd fiſt
He ſqueez'd the clouds, th' impriſon'd clouds reſiſt:
The ſkies from pole to pole with peals reſound:
And ſhow'rs inlarg'd come pouring on the ground.
Then, clad in colors of a various dye,
Junonian Iris breeds a new ſupply
To feed the clouds: impetuous rain deſcends——
Th' expanded waters gather on the plain:
They flote the fields, and overtop the grain;
Then ruſhing onwards with a ſweepy ſway,
Bear flocks and folds, and lab'ring hinds away,
Nor ſafe thier dwellings were, for ſapt by floods,
Their houſes fell upon their houſhold Gods. Dryden.

Is it not juſter and better to ſay, that *the ſouth-wind blew all the clouds together from under Heaven*, than that *he ſqueez'd the clouds with his broad hand?* and is it not a more philoſophical account, that *the hills ſent up vapor and exhalation to their ſupply*, than that *the rainbow ſupplied them with nouriſhment?* and is there not more majeſty in this ſhort and full deſcription, that *the floods overwhelm'd all dwellings, and them with all their pomp deep under water roll'd*, than in mentioning ſo particularly and minutely *the flood ſweeping away corn, and trees, and cattel, and men, and houſes, with their houſehold Gods?* and yet theſe are none of the leaſt ſhining paſſages in the Latin poet.

743. *Like a dark cieling ſtood*;] Cieling may be thought too mean a word in poetry, but Milton had a view to its derivation from Cœlum (Latin) Cielo (Italian) Heaven. *Richardſon.*

752.—*of*

Deep under water roll'd; ſea cover'd ſea,
Sea without ſhore; and in their palaces
Where luxury late reign'd, ſea-monſters whelp'd
And ſtabled; of mankind, ſo numerous late,
All left, in one ſmall bottom ſwum imbark'd.
How didſt thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
The end of all thy ofspring, end ſo ſad,
Depopulation? thee another flood,
Of tears and ſorrow' a flood thee alſo drown'd,
And ſunk thee as thy ſons; till gently rear'd
By th' Angel, on thy feet thou ſtood'ſt at laſt,
Though comfortleſs, as when a father mourns
His children, all in view deſtroy'd at once;
And ſcarce to th' Angel utter'dſt thus thy plaint.
O viſions ill foreſeen! better had I

Liv'd

752.——*of mankind, ſo numerous late,*
All left, in one ſmall bottom ſwum imbark'd.]
See Vida's Chriſ. L. 1.

Omnibus hic pauci extinctis mortalibus ibant
Incluſi ligno ſummas impune per undas. *Thyer.*

765. ——*Each day's lot*
Enough to bear;] Matth. VI. 34. *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.*

766. ——*diſpens'd*
The burden of many ages,] Diſtributed, dealt out in parcels, to be a ſufficient burden, the load of many ages. *Diſpenſare* from *penſo* to weigh; thence comes the word *penſum*, the quantity of wool that was weigh'd out to the maids to ſpin, thence it means a taſk in general, and to diſpenſe is to diſtribute theſe taſks to every one. The word is uſed with great propriety, and in the true antique ſenſe. See alſo III. 579. *Richardſon.*

770. *Let no man ſeek &c.*] This monition was not impertinent at a time

Liv'd ignorant of future, ſo had borne
My part of evil only, each day's lot
Enough to bear; thoſe now, that were diſpens'd
The burden of many ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
Abortive, to torment me ere their being,
With thought that they muſt be. Let no man ſeek
Henceforth to be foretold what ſhall befall
Him or his children; evil he may be ſure,
Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
And he the future evil ſhall no leſs
In apprehenſion than in ſubſtance feel
Grievous to bear: but that care now is paſt,
Man is not whom to warn: thoſe few eſcap'd
Famin and anguiſh will at laſt conſume
Wand'ring

time when the folly of caſting nativities was ſtill in uſe. *Warburton.*

773. *Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,*] Dr. Bentley ſays that nothing follows as ſequel to *neither*, and ſuppoſes he gave it,

Which *never* his foreknowing can prevent.

But *neither* is not always follow'd by *nor*, but ſometimes by *and*; and I wonder the Doctor ſhould object to this manner of ſpeaking, when it is ſo frequent and ſo elegant in Latin. Vide quid agas, ne neque illi profis, et tu pereas. Terence Eun. Homo neque meo judicio ſtultus, et ſuo valde ſapiens. Cicero de Oratore.

777. ——*thoſe few eſcap'd*
Famin and anguiſh will at laſt conſume]

Maxima pars undâ rapitur; quibus unda pepercit,
Illos longa domant inopi jejunia victu. Ov. Met. I. 311.

The moſt of mortals periſh in the flood,
The ſmall remainder dies for want of food. Dryden.

798. *Shall*

Wand'ring that watry deſert: I had hope
When violence was ceas'd, and war on earth,
All would have then gone well, peace would have crown'd
With length of happy days the race of man;
But I was far deceiv'd; for now I ſee
Peace to corrupt no leſs than war to waſte.
How comes it thus? unfold celeſtial Guide,
And whether here the race of man will end.
To whom thus Michael. Thoſe whom laſt thou ſaw'ſt
In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
Firſt ſeen in acts of proweſs eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who having ſpilt much blood, and done much waſte
Subduing nations, and achieved thereby
Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
Shall change their courſe to pleaſure, eaſe, and ſloth,
Surfeit, and luſt, till wantonneſs and pride
Raiſe out of friendſhip hoſtile deeds in peace.
The conquer'd alſo, and inſlav'd by war
Shall with their freedom loſt all virtue loſe
And

798. *Shall with their freedom loſt all virtue loſe*] Milton every where ſhows his love of liberty, and here he obſerves very rightly that the

And fear of God, from whom their piety feign'd
In ſharp conteſt of battel found no aid
Againſt invaders; therefore cool'd in zeal
Thenceforth ſhall practice how to live ſecure,
Worldly or diſſolute, on what their lords
Shall leave them to enjoy; for th' earth ſhall bear
More than enough, that temp'rance may be try'd:
So all ſhall turn degenerate, all deprav'd,
Juſtice and temp'rance, truth and faith forgot;
One man except, the only ſon of light
In a dark age, againſt example good,
Againſt allurement, cuſtom, and a world
Offended; fearleſs of reproach and ſcorn,
Or violence, he of their wicked ways
Shall them admoniſh, and before them ſet
The paths of righteouſneſs, how much more ſafe,
And full of peace, denouncing wrath to come,
On their impenitence; and ſhall return
Of them derided, but of God obſerv'd
The one juſt man alive; by his command
Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheldſt,

To

the loſs of liberty is ſoon follow'd by the loſs of all virtue and religion. There are ſuch ſentiments in ſeveral parts of his proſe works, as

To ſave himſelf and houſhold from amidſt
A world devote to univerſal wrack.
No ſooner he with them of man and beaſt
Select for life ſhall in the ark be lodg'd,
And ſhelter'd round, but all the cataracts
Of Heaven ſet open on the earth ſhall pour
Rain day and night; all fountains of the deep
Broke up, ſhall heave the ocean to uſurp
Be-

as well as in Ariſtotle and other maſters of politics.

821. *A world devote to univerſal wrack.*] *Devote* is uſed here and elſewhere as *devoted:* And in Milton's own editions it is *univerſal rack*, but we have printed it *wrack* to diſtinguiſh it from *rack* the inſtrument of torture; and we have Milton's authority for ſo doing, for he has printed it ſo himſelf in VI. 670. in both his editions.

——and now all Heav'n
Had gone to *wrack* &c.

It is probable that both words were originally of the ſame extraction; but as the different ſenſes have been ſo long diſtinguiſh'd by different ſpelling, it is proper to preſerve this diſtinction in order to avoid ambiguity and confuſion. And for the ſame reaſon we ſpelt differently *wracking* in II. 182. and *racking* in XI. 481.

824. —*all the cataracts*
Of Heav'n ſet open on the earth ſhall pour
Rain day and night; all fountains of the deep
Broke up,] Gen. VII. 11. *The ſame day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of Heaven were opened.* The *windows* of Heaven are tranſlated the *cataracts* in the Syriac and Arabic verſions, and in the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin, which Milton here follows; and what they are, thoſe will beſt underſtand who have ſeen the fallings of waters, called *ſpouts*, in hot countries, when the clouds do not break into drops, but fall with terrible violence in a torrent: and *the great deep* is the vaſt abyſs of waters contained within the bowels of the earth, and in the ſea.

829.——*then ſhall this mount*
Of Paradiſe &c.] It is the opinion of many learned men, that Paradiſe was deſtroy'd by the deluge, and our author deſcribes it in a very poetical manner. *Puſh'd by the horned flood*, ſo that it was before the flood became univerſal, and while it poured along like a vaſt river; for rivers when they meet with any

Beyond all bounds, till inundation riſe
Above the higheſt hills: then ſhall this mount
Of Paradiſe by might of waves be mov'd
Out of his place, puſh'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure ſpoil'd, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening gulf,
And there take root an iland ſalt and bare,
The haunt of ſeals, and orcs, and ſea-mews clang:

To

any thing to obſtruct their paſſage, divide themſelves and become *horned*, as it were, and hence the ancients have compared them to bulls.

Sic *tauriformis* volvitur Aufidus.
Hor. Od. IV. XIV. 25.

Et gemina auratus *taurino cornua* vultu
Eridanus. Virg. Georg. IV. 371.

Corniger Heſperidum fluviis regnator aquarum. Æn. VIII. 77.

Down the great river to the opening gulf, down the river Tigris or Euphrates to the Perſian gulf: they were both rivers of Eden, and Euphrates particularly is called in Scripture *the great river*, *the river Euphrates*, Gen. XV. 18. It is very probable that our author took the firſt thought of puſhing Paradiſe by the force of floods into the ſea from Homer, who deſcribes the deſtruction of the Grecian wall by an inundation very much in the ſame poetical manner, Iliad. XII. 24.

Των παιδων ὁμοσε ϛομαθ' ἱϛαπο Φοιβος Απολλων,
Ενημαρ δ' ες τειχος ιει ῥοον· υε δ' αρα Ζευς
Συνεχες, οφρα κε θασσον ἀλιπλοα τειχεα θειη. κ. τ. λ.

Thoſe turn'd by Phœbus from their wonted ways,
Delug'd the rampire nine continual days:
The weight of waters ſaps the yielding wall,
And to the ſea the floting bulwarks fall:
Inceſſant cataracts the thund'rer pours,
And half the ſkies deſcend in fluicy ſhow'rs, &c. Pope.

835. — *and orcs,*] Orca eſt genus marinæ belluæ maximum. Feſt. The word occurs frequently in Arioſto. *Heylin.*

835. —— *and ſea-mews clang:*] So alſo in VII. 422. *with clang deſpis'd the ground*, adopting the clangor of the Latins, which is a word that they almoſt conſtantly uſe to expreſs the noiſe made by the flight of large flocks of birds. *Thyer.*

836. To

To teach thee that God attributes to place
No ſanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
And now what further ſhall enſue, behold.
He look'd, and ſaw the ark hull on the flood,
Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,
Driv'n by a keen north-wind, that blowing dry
Wrinkled

836. *To teach thee that God attributes to place*
No ſanctity, &c.] Milton omits no opportunity of laſhing what he thought ſuperſtitious. Theſe lines may ſerve as one inſtance, and I think he plainly here alludes to the manner of conſecrating churches uſed by Archbiſhop Laud, which was prodigiouſly clamor'd againſt by people of our author's way of thinking, as ſuperſtitious and popiſh. *Thyer.*

840.—*the ark hull on the flood,*] A ſhip is ſaid to *hull* when all her ſails are taken down, and ſhe flotes to and fro. *Richardſon.*

841. *Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,*
Driv'n by a keen north-wind,] The Scripture ſays only that *God made a wind to paſs over the earth*; it is moſt probable that it was a north-wind, as that is ſuch a drying wind: but our poet follows Ovid in this as well as ſeveral other particulars, Met. I. 328.

Nubila diſjecit; nimbiſque Aquilone remotis,
Et cœlo terras oſtendit, et æthera terris.——
Jam mare littus habet; plenos capit alveus amnes;
Flumina ſubſidunt; colles exire videntur;
Surgit humus; creſcunt loca decreſcentibus undis.

He loos'd the northern wind; fierce Boreas flies
To puff away the clouds, and purge the ſkies:
Serenely, while he blows, the vapors driv'n,
Diſcover Heav'n to earth, and earth to Heav'n.——
A thin circumference of land appears;
And earth, but not at once, her viſage rears,
And peeps upon the ſeas from upper grounds;
The ſtreams, but juſt contain'd within their bounds,
By ſlow degrees into their channels crawl;
And earth increaſes as the waters fall. Dryden.

843. *Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd*;] This alluſive compariſon of the ſurface of the decreaſing

Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;
And the clear ſun on his wide watry glaſs
Gaz'd hot, and of the freſh wave largely drew,
As after thirſt, which made their flowing ſhrink
From ſtanding lake to tripping ebb, that ſtole
With ſoft foot tow'ards the deep, who now had ſtopt
His ſluces, as the Heav'n his windows ſhut.

The

creaſing waters, wrinkled by the wind, to the wrinkles of a decaying old age is very far fetch'd and extremely boyiſh; but the author makes us ample amends in the remaining part of this deſcription of the abating of the flood. The circumſtances of it are few, but ſelected with great judgment, and expreſs'd with no leſs ſpirit and beauty. In this reſpect, it muſt be own'd, Milton greatly excels the Italians, who are generally too prolix in their deſcriptions, and think they have never ſaid enough whilſt any thing remains unſaid. When once enough is ſaid to excite in the reader's mind a proper idea of what the poet is repreſenting, whatever is added, however beautiful, ſerves only to teize the fancy inſtead of pleaſing it, and rather cools than improves that glow of pleaſure, which ariſes in the mind upon its firſt contemplation of any ſurpriſing ſcene of nature well painted out. Of this Milton was very ſenſible, and throughout his whole poem has ſcarcely ever been hurried by his imagination into any thing inconſiſtent with it. *Thyer.*

846.—*which made their flowing ſhrink*] *Their* I ſuppoſe refers to *wave* before mention'd as a noun of multitude, of the plural number. It is not eaſy to account for the ſyntax otherwiſe.

847. *From ſtanding lake to tripping ebb,*] *Tripping* from *tripudiare*, to dance, to ſtep lightly upon the toes, a natural deſcription of *ſoft-ebbing*, as VII. 300. and ſo it follows, *that ſtole with ſoft foot*, this bold perſonizing is perpetually us'd by the Greek, and conſequently the Latin poets, who always imitate them, Hor. Epod. XVI. 47.

——montibus altis
Levis crepante lympha deſilit pede. *Richardſon.*

848.—*the deep, who now had ſtopt His ſluces, as the Heav'n his windows ſhut.*] Gen. VIII. 2. *The fountains alſo of the deep, and the windows of Heaven were ſtopped.* For this and other particulars of the ark reſting upon the mountains of Ararat, and of the raven, and of the dove, *&c.* ſee the ſame chapter.

The ark now no more flotes, but ſeems on ground
Faſt on the top of ſome high mountain fix'd.
And now the tops of hills as rocks appear;
With clamor thence the rapid currents drive
Tow'ards the retreating ſea their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies,
And after him, the ſurer meſſenger,
A dove ſent forth once and again to ſpy
Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light;
The ſecond time returning, in his bill
An olive leaf he brings, pacific ſign:
Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
The ancient ſire deſcends with all his train;
Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to Heav'n, over his head beholds
A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow
Conſpicuous with three liſted colors gay,
Betokening peace from God, and covenant new.

Whereat

850.—*flotes,*] This is the right way of ſpelling the word, as it comes from the French *floter*.

860. *An olive leaf he brings, pacific ſign:*] Sign of Peace, of God's mercy to mankind; the olive was ſacred to Pallas, and borne by thoſe that ſued for peace, as being the emblem of it and plenty:

—placitam paci nutritor olivam.
Virg. Georg. II. 425. *Hume.*

Add this likewiſe,

Paciferæque manu ramum prætendit olivæ. Æn. VIII. 116.

866. *Conſpicuous with three liſted colors gay,*] He afterwards calls it the *triple-color'd bow*, ver. 897.

Whereat the heart of Adam erſt ſo ſad
Greatly rejoic'd, and thus his joy broke forth.
O thou who future things canſt repreſent
As preſent, heav'nly Inſtructor, I revive
At this laſt ſight, aſſur'd that man ſhall live
With all the creatures, and their ſeed preſerve.
Far leſs I now lament for one whole world
Of wicked ſons deſtroy'd, than I rejoice
For one man found ſo perfect and ſo juſt,
That God vouchſafes to raiſe another world
From him, and all his anger to forget.
But ſay, what mean thoſe color'd ſtreaks in Heaven
Diſtended as the brow of God appeas'd
Or ſerve they as a flow'ry verge to bind
The fluid ſkirts of that ſame watry cloud,
Leſt it again diſſolve and ſhow'r the earth?
To whom th' Arch-Angel. Dextrouſly thou aim'ſt;
So willingly doth God remit his ire,
Though

897. and he means probably the three principal colors, red, yellow, and blue, of which the others are compounded.

884. *To whom th' Arch-Angel.* &c.] The reader will eaſily obſerve how much of this ſpeech is built upon Scripture.

Though late repenting him of man deprav'd,
Griev'd at his heart,——

And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart, Gen. VI. 6.

—when looking down he ſaw

Though late repenting him of man deprav'd,
Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he ſaw
The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all fleſh
Corrupting each their way; yet thoſe remov'd,
Such grace ſhall one juſt man find in his ſight,
That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
And makes a covenant never to deſtroy
The earth again by flood, nor let the ſea
Surpaſs his bounds, nor rain to drown the world
With

The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all fleſh
Corrupting each their way;—

The earth alſo was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth, ver. 11, 12.

Such grace ſhall one juſt man find in his ſight,

But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord, ver 8.

And makes a covenant never to deſtroy
The earth again by flood,——

And I will eſtabliſh my covenant with you, neither ſhall all fleſh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither ſhall there be any more a flood to deſtroy the earth. Gen. IX. 11.

——but when he brings
Over the earth a cloud, will therein ſet
His triple-color'd bow, whereon to look,
And call to mind his covenant:—

And it ſhall come to paſs when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow ſhall be ſeen in the cloud: and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlaſting covenant between God and every living creature of all fleſh that is upon the earth, ver. 14, 16.

——day and night,
Seed-time and harveſt, heat and hoary froſt
Shall hold their courſe,——

While the earth remaineth, ſeed-time and harveſt, and cold and heat, and ſummer and winter, and day and night ſhall not ceaſe, Gen. VIII. 22.

—till fire purge all things new,
Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell.

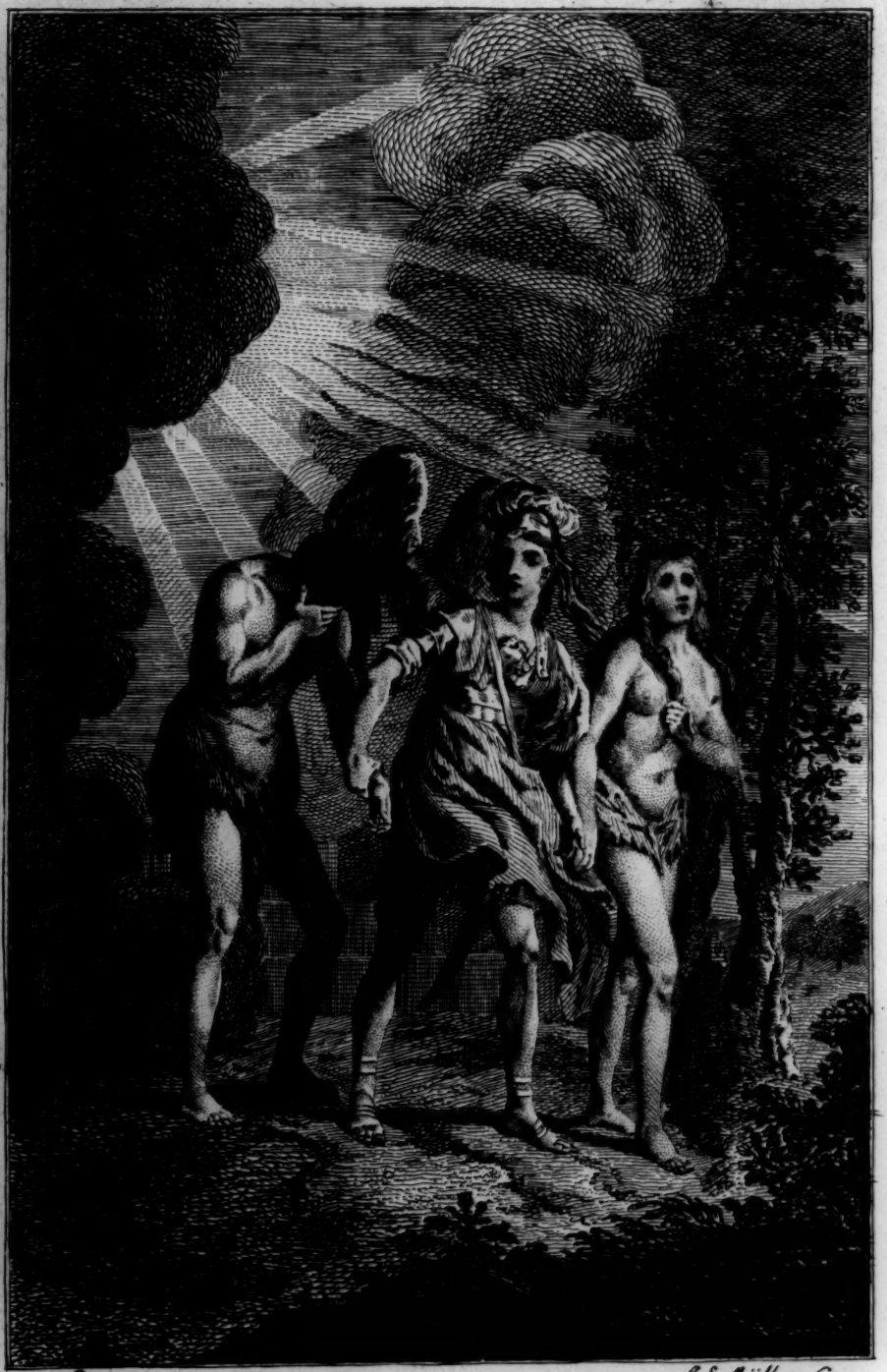
The Heavens being on fire ſhall be diſſolved, and the elements ſhall melt with fervent heat: nevertheleſs we, according to his promiſe, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs. 2 Pet. III. 12, 13.

With man therein or beaſt; but when he brings
Over the earth a cloud, will therein ſet
His triple-color'd bow, whereon to look,
And call to mind his covenant: day and night,
Seed-time and harveſt, heat and hoary froſt,
Shall hold their courſe, till fire purge all things new,
Both Heav'n and Earth wherein the juſt ſhall dwell.

895. *With man therein or beaſt*;] Dr. Bentley reads *With man or beaſt or fowl*; becauſe (as he ſays) the birds are here forgot, and yet they were in the ark as well as the beaſts, and were included in the covenant too. But in the Scripture phraſe *man and beaſt* comprehend the birds too: See Pſal. XXXVI. 6. Jerem. XXI. 6. and XXXII. 43. And our poet has twice before (ver. 733, 822.) ſpoken of all the inhabitants of the ark under this very title of *man and beaſt*. Pearce.

The End of the Eleventh Book.

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F. Hayman inv. et del: J.S. Müller sc:

Book. 12.

THE

TWELFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Angel Michael continues from the flood to relate what ſhall ſucceed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman ſhall be, which was promiſed Adam and Eve in the fall; his incarnation, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion; the ſtate of the church till his ſecond coming. Adam greatly ſatisfied and recomforted by theſe relations and promiſes deſcends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had ſlept, but with gentle dreams compoſed to quietneſs of mind and ſubmiſſion. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradiſe, the fiery ſword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their ſtations to guard the place.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII.

AS one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on ſpeed; ſo here th' Arch-Angel paus'd
Betwixt the world deſtroy'd and world reſtor'd,
If Adam ought perhaps might interpoſe;
Then with tranſition ſweet new ſpeech reſumes.
Thus thou haſt ſeen one world begin and end;
And man as from a ſecond ſtock proceed.
Much thou haſt yet to ſee, but I perceive
Thy mortal ſight to fail; objects divine
Muſt needs impair and weary human ſenſe:
Henceforth what is to come I will relate,
Thou

1. *As one* &c.] In the firſt edition, before the laſt book was divided into two, the narration went on without any interruption; but upon that diviſion in the ſecond edition, theſe firſt five lines were inſerted. This addition begins the book very gracefully, and is indeed (to apply the author's own words) a *ſweet tranſition*.

11. *Henceforth what is to come I will relate,*] Milton, after having repreſented in viſion the hiſtory of makind to the firſt great period of nature, diſpatches the remaining part of it in narration. He has deviſed a very handſome reaſon for the Angels proceeding with Adam after this manner; though doubtleſs the true reaſon was the difficulty which the poet would have found to have ſhadowed out ſo mixed and complicated a ſtory in viſible objects. I could wiſh, however, that the author had done it, whatever pains it might have coſt him.

To

Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
This ſecond ſource of men, while yet but few,
And while the dread of judgment paſt remains
Freſh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
With ſome regard to what is juſt and right
Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
Lab'ring the ſoil, and reaping plenteous crop,
Corn

To give my opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting part of the hiſtory of mankind in viſion, and part in narrative, is as if an hiſtory-painter ſhould put in colors one half of his ſubject, and write down the remaining part of it. If Milton's poem flags any where, it is in this narration, where in ſome places the author has been ſo attentive to his divinity, that he has neglected his poetry. The narration however riſes very happily on ſeveral occaſions, where the ſubject is capable of poetical ornaments, as particularly in the confuſion which he deſcribes among the builders of Babel, and in his ſhort ſketch of the plagues of Egypt. *Addiſon.*

Mr. Addiſon obſerves, that *if Milton's poem flags any where, it is in this narration*; and to be ſure, if we have an eye only to poetic decoration, his remark is juſt; but if we view it in another light, and conſider in how ſhort a compaſs he has compris'd, and with what ſtrength and clearneſs he has expreſs'd the various actings of God towards mankind, and the moſt ſublime and deep truths both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian theology, it muſt excite no leſs admiration in the mind of an attentive reader, than the more ſpritely ſcenes of love and innocence in Eden, or the more turbulent ones of angelic war in Heaven. This contrivance of Milton's to introduce into his poem ſo many things poſterior to the time of action fix'd in his firſt plan, by a viſionary prophetic relation of them, is, it muſt be allow'd, common with our author, to Virgil and moſt epic poets ſince his time; but there is one thing to be obſerved ſingular in our Engliſh poet, which is, that whereas they have all done it principally, if not wholly, to have an opportunity of complimenting their own country and friends, he has not the leaſt mention of, or friendly alluſion to his. The Reformation of our church from the errors and tyranny of popery, which corruptions he ſo well deſcribes and pathetically laments, afforded him occaſion fair enough, and no doubt his not doing it muſt be imputed to his

Corn, wine, and oil; and from the herd or flock,
Oft ſacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid,
With large wine-offerings pour'd, and ſacred feaſt
Shall ſpend their days in joy unblam'd, and dwell
Long time in peace by families and tribes
Under paternal rule: till one ſhall riſe
Of proud ambitious heart, who not content
With

his mind's being ſo unhappily imbitter'd, at the time of his writing, againſt our government both in church and ſtate; ſo that to the many other miſchiefs flowing from the grand rebellion we may add this of its depriving Britain of the beſt panegyric it is ever likely to have. *Thyer.*

16. *With ſome regard to what is juſt and right*] This anſwers to the ſilver age of the poets, the Paradiſiacal ſtate is the golden one. That of iron begins ſoon, ver. 24. *Richardſon.*

24.——*till one ſhall riſe* &c.] It is generally agreed that the firſt governments in the world were patriarchal, *by families and tribes*, and that Nimrod was the firſt who laid the foundations of kingly government among mankind. Our author therefore (who was no friend to kingly government at the beſt) repreſents him in a very bad light as a moſt wicked and inſolent tyrant, but he has great authorities, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, to juſtify him for ſo doing. The Scripture ſays of Nimrod, Gen. X. 9. that *he was a mighty hunter before the Lord:* And this our author underſtands in the worſt ſenſe, of hunting men and not beaſts——*and men not beaſts ſhall be his game.* But ſeveral commentators underſtand it in the ſame manner, and the Scripture applies the word to hunting of men by perſecution, oppreſſion, and tyranny. Jer. XVI. 16. Lam. IV. 18. Ezek. XIII. 18, 20. And ſo the Jeruſalem Targum here expounds it of a *ſinful hunting of the ſons of men.* The phraſe *before the Lord* ſeems to be perfectly indifferent in itſelf, and made uſe of only by way of exaggeration: but in this place the greateſt number of interpreters take it in a bad ſenſe, in the ſame manner as when it is ſaid of the men of Sodom that they were *ſinners before the Lord*, Gen. XIII. 13. as alſo of Er the eldeſt ſon of Judah that

With fair equality, fraternal ſtate,
Will arrogate dominion undeſerv'd
Over his brethren, and quite diſpoſſeſs
Concord and law of nature from the earth,
Hunting (and men not beaſts ſhall be his game)
With war and hoſtile ſnare ſuch as refuſe
Subjection to his empire tyrannous:
A mighty hunter thence he ſhall be ſtil'd
Before the Lord, as in deſpite of Heaven,
Or from Heav'n claming ſecond ſovranty;
And from rebellion ſhall derive his name,
Though of rebellion others he accuſe.

He

that he was *wicked in the ſight of the Lord*, Gen. XXXVIII. 7. And St. Auſtin in particular would have it tranſlated not *before the Lord* but *againſt the Lord*. Our author, in conformity to this opinion, ſays

Before the Lord, as in deſpite of Heaven,

but then takes in the other interpretation of Vatablus and others, that *before the Lord* is the ſame as *under the Lord*, uſurping all authority to himſelf next under God, and claming it Jure divino, as was done in Milton's own time;

Or from Heav'n claming ſecond ſovranty;

claming, ſo Milton ſpells the word in this place, and ſo he ſpells the *reclame* in VI. 791. and ſo all of that family ſhould be ſpelt, *declame*, *exclame*, *proclame*, &c. being derived from the Latin *clamo* and the French *clamer*.

And from rebellion ſhall derive his name,

for the name Nimród, tho' more favorable etymologies are given, yet commonly is derived from the Hebrew word *marad* which ſignifies to *rebel*; and this probably was the principal occaſion of thoſe injurious reports which have prevailed in the world concerning him.

Though of rebellion others he accuſe.

This

He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
With him or under him to tyrannize,
Marching from Eden tow'ards the weſt, ſhall find
The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boils out from under ground, the mouth of Hell;
Of brick, and of that ſtuff they caſt to build
A city' and tow'r, whoſe top may reach to Heaven;
And get themſelves a name, leſt far diſpers'd
In foreign lands their memory be loſt,
Regardleſs whether good or evil fame.
But God who oft deſcends to viſit men
Unſeen, and through their habitations walks

To

This was added by our author probably not without a view to his own time, when himſelf and thoſe of his own party were ſtigmatiz'd as the worſt of rebels.

40. *Marching from Eden towards the weſt*, &c.] Gen. XI. 2. &c. *And it came to paſs as they journeyed from the eaſt, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar——And they had brick for ſtone, and ſlime had they for morter. And they ſaid, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whoſe top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a name, leſt we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.* The Hebrew *chemar* which we tranſtate *ſlime* is what the Greeks call *aſphaltus* and the Latins *bitumen*, a kind of pitch; and that it abounded very much in the plain near Babylon, that it ſwam upon the waters, that there was a cave and fountain continually emitting it, and that this famous tower at this time, and the no leſs famous walls of Babylon afterwards were built with this kind of cement, is confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral profane authors. This *black bituminous gurge*, this pitchy pool the poet calls *the mouth of Hell*, not ſtrictly ſpeaking, but by the ſame ſort of figure by which the ancient poets call Tænarus or Avernus the jaws and gate of Hell,

Tænarias etiam fauces, alta oſtia
Ditis. Virg. Georg. IV. 467.

51. *Comes*

To mark their doings, them beholding ſoon,
Comes down to ſee their city, ere the tower
Obſtruct Heav'n-tow'rs, and in deriſion ſets
Upon their tongues a various ſpi'rit to raſe
Quite out their native language, and inſtead
To ſow a jangling noiſe of words unknown:
Forthwith a hideous gabble riſes loud
Among the builders; each to other calls
Not underſtood, till hoarſe, and all in rage,
As mock'd they ſtorm; great laughter was in Heaven
And looking down, to ſee the hubbub ſtrange
And

51. *Comes down to ſee their city*, &c.] Gen. XI. 5, &c. *And the Lord came down to ſee the city and the tower, which the children of men builded*, &c. The Scripture ſpeaketh here after the manner of men: And thus the Heathen Gods are often repreſented as coming down to obſerve the actions of men, as in the ſtories of Lycaon, Baucis and Philemon &c.

53.—*a various ſpi'rit*] 2 Chron. XVIII. 22. 'Tis ſaid the Lord had put *a lying ſpirit* in the mouth of the prophets; here he puts *a various ſpirit* in the mouth of theſe builders, a ſpirit varying the ſounds by which they would expreſs their thoughts one to another, and bringing conſequently *confuſion*, whence the work is ſo call'd. *Richardſon.*

59. —— *great laughter was in Heaven* &c.] Dr. Bentley has made ſome alterations here, and the context conſider'd I know not whether they are not for the better;

—great laughter *is* in Heaven
All looking down——
—thus *is* the building left:

but afterwards I find the author varying the tenſe in ſeveral places, and ſpeaking of things future as paſt, future with regard to the time when the Angel is ſpeaking, but paſt with regard to the time which he is ſpeaking of. *Great laughter was in Heaven* &c. And thus Homer repreſents the Gods as laughing at the aukward limping carriage of Vulcan in waiting, Iliad. I. 599.

Ασβεστος δ' αρ' ενωρτο γελως μακαρεσσι θεοισιν,

Ως

And hear the din; thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work Confuſion nam'd.
Whereto thus Adam fatherly diſpleas'd.
O execrable ſon ſo to aſpire
Above his brethren, to himſelf aſſuming
Authority uſurp'd, from God not given:
He gave us only over beaſt, fiſh, fowl,
Dominion abſolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over men
He made not lord; ſuch title to himſelf
Reſerving, human left from human free.

But

Ὡς ἰδον Ἡφαιστον δια δωμαλα ποντινοντα.

Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies,
And unextinguiſh'd laughter ſhakes the ſkies. Pope.

But as Mr. Thyer adds, it is rather too comic for the grave character of Milton's Gods to be repreſented peeping down and laughing like a parcel of mere mortals, to ſee the workmen puzled and ſquabbling about their work: tho' there are ſuch expreſſions even in Scripture, Pſal. II. 4. *He that ſitteth in the Heavens ſhall laugh; the Lord ſhall have them in deriſion.* See too Pſal. XXXVII. 13. LIX. 8. Prov. I. 26. *I alſo will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.*

62. —— *and the work Confuſion nam'd.*] For *Babel* in Hebrew ſignifies *Confuſion. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, becauſe the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth.* Gen. XI. 9. As the poet repreſents this confuſion among the builders as an object of ridicule, ſo he makes uſe of ſome ridiculous words, ſuch as are not very uſual in poety, to highten that ridicule, as *jangling noiſe, hideous gabble, ſtrange hubbub.*

71. —— *human left from human free.*] Every reader muſt be pleaſed with the ſpirit of liberty that breathes in this ſpeech of our firſt anceſtor: And it is not improbable that the author had in mind a paſſage of St. Auſtin, as I find it quoted by Mr. Hume. Rationalem factum ad imaginem ſuam, noluit niſi

But this uſurper his encroachment proud
Stays not on man; to God his tow'r intends
Siege and defiance: Wretched man! what food
Will he convey up thither to ſuſtain
Himſelf and his raſh army, where thin air
Above the clouds will pine his entrails groſs,
And famiſh him of breath, if not of bread?
To whom thus Michael. Juſtly thou abhorr'ſt
That ſon, who on the quiet ſtate of men
Such trouble brought, affecting to ſubdue
Rational liberty; yet know withal,
Since thy original lapſe, true liberty
Is loſt, which always with right reaſon dwells
Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
Reaſon in man obſcur'd, or not obey'd,

Imme-

niſi irrationalibus dominari, non hominem homini, ſed hominem pecori. Aug. c. 15. l. 19. de Civit. Dei. For Milton, tho' he ſpeaks contemptibly of the Fathers, yet ſometimes makes uſe of their ſentiments.

73. ——*to God his tow'r intends* &c.] This being not aſſerted in Scripture, but only ſuppos'd by ſome writers, is better put into the mouth of Adam, than of the Angel. I wiſh the poet had taken the ſame care in ver. 51.

——ere the tower
Obſtruct Heav'n-tow'rs.——

81. *Such trouble brought,*] Dr. Bentley reads *brings*, becauſe this is not (ſays he) told here as a thing paſt. But Michael is not telling any thing here: he is only making a reflection upon what he had been telling Adam juſt before in ver. 27. and it having been already told, the reflection made upon it may juſtly ſpeak of it as a thing paſt. *Pearce.*

83. *Since*

Immediately inordinate deſires
And upſtart paſſions catch the government
From reaſon, and to ſervitude reduce
Man till then free. Therefore ſince he permits
Within himſelf unworthy pow'rs to reign
Over free reaſon, God in judgment juſt
Subjects him from without to violent lords;
Who oft as undeſervedly inthrall
His outward freedom: tyranny muſt be,
Though to the tyrant thereby no excuſe.
Yet ſometimes nations will decline ſo low
From virtue, which is reaſon, that no wrong,
But juſtice, and ſome fatal curſe annex'd
Deprives them of their outward liberty,
Their inward loſt: Witneſs th' irreverent ſon

Of

83. *Since thy original lapſe,*] Thus it is in Milton's own editions; in Dr. Bentley's, Mr. Fenton's, and other editions it is Since *by* original lapſe, which makes hardly ſenſe or ſyntax.

84.——*which always with right reaſon dwells*
Twinn'd,] Some editions read *Twin'd*, and Mr. Hume explains it *twiſted together with upright reaſon*; but in Milton's own editions it is printed *Twinn'd*, and I preſume he means twinn'd at a birth with right reaſon. Liberty and virtue (*which is reaſon*, ver. 98) are *twin-ſiſters*, and the one hath no being divided from the other.

101.—*Witneſs th' irreverent ſon*
Of him who built the ark, &c.] Witneſs Cham, the father of Canaan, and ſhameful ſon of Noah, who for the reproach done to his father, *by diſcovering his nakedneſs*, heard this heavy curſe pronounced by him on his wicked poſterity the Canaanites; *Curſed be Canaan; a*

Of him who built the ark, who for the ſhame
Done to his father, heard this heavy curſe,
Servant of ſervants, on his vicious race.
Thus will this latter, as the former world,
Still tend from bad to worſe, till God at laſt
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His preſence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes; reſolving from thenceforth
To leave them to their own polluted ways;
And one peculiar nation to ſelect
From all the reſt, of whom to be invok'd,
A nation from one faithful man to ſpring:

Him

ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren, Gen. IX. 22, 25.

Hume.

Does not Milton here forget, that the Angel had not before mention'd the ſtory of Ham's uncovering his father's nakedneſs? The urging it by way of example ſeems to infer its being known to Adam, which yet it could not be. *Thyer.*

This heavy curſe, ſo it is in Milton's own editions, but in others *his heavy curſe*.

109.—*reſolving from thenceforth To leave them* &c.] And the Angel leaves them in like manner, and confines his narration henceforward to the *one peculiar nation* of the race of Abraham, from whence the Meſſiah was to deſcend.

114. *Him on this ſide Euphrates yet reſiding*,] That is not *yet*, when Michael was ſpeaking; but *yet* when God reſolv'd to *ſelect one peculiar nation* from all the reſt, ver. 111. No need therefore for Dr. Bentley's word *then*, inſtead of *yet*. *Pearce.*

115. *Bred up in idol-worſhip*;] We read in Joſhua XXIV. 2. *Your fathers dwelt on the other ſide of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, and they ſerved other Gods.* Now as Terah Abraham's father was an idolater I think we may be certain that Abraham was bred up in

Him on this ſide Euphrates yet reſiding,
Bred up in idol-worſhip; O that men
(Canſt thou believe?) ſhould be ſo ſtupid grown
While yet the patriarch liv'd, who ſcap'd the flood,
As to forſake the living God, and fall
To worſhip their own work in wood and ſtone
For Gods! yet him God the moſt High vouchſafes
To call by viſion from his father's houſe,
His kindred and falſe Gods, into a land
Which he will ſhew him, and from him will raiſe
A mighty nation, and upon him ſhower
His benediction ſo, that in his ſeed
All

in the religion of his father, though he renounc'd it afterwards, and in all probability converted his father likewiſe, for Terah removed with Abraham to Haran, and there died. See Gen. XI. 31, 32.

117. *While yet the patriarch liv'd, who ſcap'd the flood,*] It appears from the computations given by Moſes, Gen. XI. that Terah the father of Abraham was born 222 years after the flood, but *Noah lived after the flood* 350 *years*. Gen. IX. 28. and we have proved from Joſhua, that Terah and the anceſtors of Abraham *ſerved other Gods*; and from the Jewiſh traditions we learn farther that Terah, and Nachor his father, and Serug his grandfather were ſtatuaries and carvers of idols: and therefore idolatry was ſet up in the world, *while yet the patriarch liv'd, who ſcap'd the flood.*

120.——*Yet him God the moſt High* &c.] The ſame *him* repeated as in ver. 114. *Now the Lord had ſaid unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's houſe, unto a land that I will ſhow thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bleſs thee and make thy name great; and thou ſhalt be a bleſſing. And I will bleſs them that bleſs thee, and curſe him that curſeth thee; and in thee ſhall all families of the earth be bleſſed*, Gen. XII. 1, 2, 3.

All nations ſhall be bleſt; he ſtrait obeys,
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:
I ſee him, but thou canſt not, with what faith
He leaves his Gods, his friends, and native ſoil
Ur of Chaldæa, paſſing now the ford
To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
Of herds and flocks, and numerous ſervitude;

Not

126. ——*he ſtrait obeys,*
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:] According to the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, XI. 8. *By faith Abraham, when he was called out to go into a place which he ſhould after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went.*

128. *I ſee him, but thou canſt not,* &c.] As the principal deſign of this epiſode was to give Adam an idea of the holy Perſon who was to reinſtate human nature in that happineſs and perfection from which it had fallen, the poet confines himſelf to the line of Abraham, from whence the Meſſiah was to deſcend. The Angel is deſcribed as ſeeing the patriarch actually travelling towards *the land of promiſe*, which gives a particular livelineſs to this part of the narration. *Addiſon.*

Our poet, ſenſible that this long hiſtorical deſcription might grow irkſome, has varied the manner of repreſenting it as much as poſſible, beginning firſt with ſuppoſing Adam to have a proſpect of it before his eyes, next by making the Angel the relator of it, and laſtly by uniting the two former methods, and making Michael ſee it as in viſion, and give a rapturous inliven'd account of it to Adam. This gives great eaſe to the languiſhing attention of the reader. *Thyer.*

130. *Ur of Chaldæa,*] Gen. XI. 31. *And they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan. Chaldæa*, a province of Aſia, lying eaſt of the Euphrates and weſt of the Tigris. *Ur*, a city of Chaldæa, the country of Terah and Abraham. The word *Ur* in Hebrew ſignifies *light* or *fire*; and this name was given to the city, becauſe the ſun and its ſymbol, fire, was worſhipped therein. *Paſſing now the ford*, paſſing over the river Euphrates where it was fordable, *to Haran:* by this it ſhould ſeem, that our author conceiv'd *Haran* to lie weſt of the river Euphrates; and I find M. Baſnage in his Antiquities of the Jews maintains, that *Haran* was a town, at preſent unknown, out of the limits

of

Not wand'ring poor, but truſting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.
Canaan he now attains; I ſee his tents
Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighb'ring plain
Of Moreh; there by promiſe he receives
Gift to his progeny of all that land,
From Hamath northward to the deſert ſouth,
(Things

of Meſopotamia, in Syria of Shobah, in the way towards the land of Canaan.

132.—*and numerous ſervitude*;] Many ſervants; the abſtract for the concrete.

133. *Not wand'ring poor, but truſting all his wealth*] For *Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's ſon, and all their ſubſtance that they had gather'd, and the ſouls that they had gotten in Haran: and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan they came.* Gen. XII. 5.

135. ——*I ſee his tents*
Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighb'ring plain
Of Moreh;—] Gen. XII. 6. *And Abram paſſed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh.* Sichem or Sechem or Sychar (for it had all theſe names) was a town of the province of Samaria, *there by promiſe he receives* &c. as it follows immediately in Geneſis XII. 7. *And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and ſaid, Unto thy ſeed will I give this land:* So exactly does the poet copy the ſacred hiſtorian.

139. *From Hamath northward* &c.] As ſo much is ſaid of the promis'd land, the poet very properly gives us the bounds of it. *Hamath* was a city of Syria, and *the entring into Hamath*, ſo frequently mention'd in Scripture, is the narrow paſs leading from the land of Canaan to Syria, through the valley which lies between Libanus and Antilibanus. This is ſet down as the northern boundary of the land: Numb. XXXIV. 7, 8. *To the deſert ſouth*, the deſert of Arabia, or *the wilderneſs of Zin*, as it is call'd, Numb. XXXIV. 3. *Your ſouth-quarter ſhall be from the wilderneſs of Zin. From Herman eaſt*, a mountain beyond Jordan, on the north-eaſt, *to the great weſtern ſea*, the Mediterranean. Numb. XXXIV. 6. *And as for the weſtern border, you ſhall even have the great ſea for a border: this ſhall be your weſt-border. On the ſhore mount Carmel*, a mountain famous in Scripture upon the coaſt of the Mediterranean. *Here the double founted ſtream Jor-*

(Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd)
From Hermon eaſt to the great weſtern ſea;
Mount Hermon, yonder ſea, each place behold
In proſpect, as I point them; on the ſhore
Mount Carmel; here the double-founted ſtream
Jordan, true limit eaſtward; but his ſons
Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.
This ponder, that all nations of the earth
Shall in his ſeed be bleſſed; by that ſeed
Is meant thy great Deliverer, who ſhall bruiſe

The

dan, as it is commonly ſaid to ariſe from two ſources at the foot of mount Libanus, the one call'd *Jor*, and the other *Dan*, as Thamiſis from the Thame and Iſis; *true limit eaſtward* according to Numb. XXXIV. 10, 12. *And ye ſhall point out your eaſt border from Hazarenan*, a village at the fountain of Jordan,——*and the border ſhall go down to Jordan* &c. For the name of Canaan, tho' ſometimes it includes the whole land poſſeſſed by the twelve tribes, yet peculiarly belongs to no more than the country weſtward of the river Jordan; and the Jews themſelves make a diſtinction between the land promis'd to their fathers, and the lands of Sihon and Og which were to the eaſtward of the river. Moſes plainly does the ſame in this expreſſion, Deut. II. 29. *Until I ſhall paſs over Jordan into the land which the Lord our God giveth us.* And the land on this ſide Jordan was eſteemed more holy than the land on the other. The one was barely called the *land of your poſſeſſion*, the other the *land of the poſſeſſion of the Lord*, Joſhua XXII. 19. See Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. 1. p. 566, 567. This river was the *true limit eaſtward, but his ſons* were to extend themſelves farther, *ſhall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills*. This *Senir* or *Shenir* is the ſame as *mount Hermon*, mention'd as the eaſtern border before ver. 141. as appears from Deut. III. 9. *Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir.* And a more exact account of the boundaries of the promis'd land we ſhall hardly find in any proſe-author, than our poet has given us here in verſe.

140. *Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd*] As Virgil's

The Serpent's head; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier ſhall be reveal'd. This patriarch bleſt,
Whom faithful Abraham due time ſhall call,
A ſon, and of his ſon a grand-child leaves,
Like him in faith, in wiſdom̄, and renown;
The grand-child with twelve ſons increas'd departs
From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd
Egypt, divided by the river Nile;
See where it flows, diſgorging at ſev'n mouths
Into the ſea: to ſojourn in that land

He

gil's viſion in the ſixth Æneid probably gave Milton the hint of this whole epiſode, this line is a tranſlation of that verſe, wherein Anchiſes mentions the names of places, which they were to bear hereafter, ver. 776.

Hæc tum nomine erunt, nunc ſunt
ſine nomine terræ. *Addiſon.*

147. *This ponder,*] As if he had ſaid, I mention other things for your information, but this you ſhould particularly remember, and meditate upon.

152. *Whom faithful Abraham due time ſhall call,*] Dr. Bentley obſerves that every where elſe Milton makes but two ſyllables of *Abraham*; and therefore to do the ſame here, he reads *future* inſtead of *due*. But I believe that Milton intended to make the name *Abraham* here conſiſt of three ſyllables, in alluſion to God's adding a ſyllable to it, as we find in Gen. XVII. 5. *Neither ſhall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name ſhall be Abraham.* Pearce.
Abram ſignifies *a great father*, but *Abraham* is of larger extent, and ſignifies *a father of many nations.*

155.—*with twelve ſons increas'd*] A Latiniſm; as Plaut. Trucul. II. 6. 34. Cumque es aucta liberis. See alſo Tacit. Agric. c. 6. *Richardſon.*

158. *See where it flows, diſgorging at ſev'n mouths*] This pointing to the river adds a livelineſs to the narration, and the ancient poets ſeldom mention the river Nile without taking notice of its *ſeven mouths.*

Et ſeptem gemini turbant trepida
oſtia Nili. Virg. Æn. VI. 800.

Sic ubi deſeruit madidos ſeptem-
fluus agros
Nilus—— Ovid. Met. I. 422.

He comes invited by a younger ſon
In time of dearth, a ſon whoſe worthy deeds
Raiſe him to be the ſecond in that realm
Of Pharaoh: there he dies, and leaves his race
Growing into a nation, and now grown
Suſpected to a ſequent king, who ſeeks
To ſtop their overgrowth, as inmate gueſts
Too numerous; whence of gueſts he makes them ſlaves
Inhoſpitably, and kills their infant males:
Till by two brethren (theſe two brethren call
Moſes and Aaron) ſent from God to clame
His people from inthralment, they return
With glory and ſpoil back to their promis'd land.
But firſt the lawleſs tyrant, who denies
To know their God, or meſſage to regard,
Muſt be compell'd by ſigns and judgments dire;

To

—— Oſtia ſeptem
Pulverulenta vacant ſeptem ſine flumine valles. Met. II. 256.

176. *To blood unſhed* &c.] The hiſtory of this part of the poem is ſo well known as to need little comment or explanation. We ſhall only juſt obſerve the poet's exactneſs in copying of holy Writ, and particularly in recounting the plagues of Egypt in the ſame method and order as the divine hiſtorian. Beſides this we will only note his ſpelling *murren* after the modern Latin word *murrena*.

181.—*thunder mix'd with hail*, &c.] The ſtorm of hail and fire, with the darkneſs that overſpread the land for three days, are deſcribed with great ſtrength. The beautiful paſſage which follows, is raiſed upon noble hints in Scripture:

—— Thus with ten wounds
The river-dragon tam'd at length ſubmits &c.

The *river-dragon* is an alluſion to the

To blood unſhed the rivers muſt be turn'd;
Frogs, lice, and flies muſt all his palace fill
With loath'd intruſion, and fill all the land;
His cattel muſt of rot and murren die;
Botches and blains muſt all his fleſh imboſs,
And all his people; thunder mix'd with hail,
Hail mix'd with fire muſt rend th' Egyptian ſky,
And wheel on th' earth, devouring where it rolls;
What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
A darkſome cloud of locuſts ſwarming down
Muſt eat, and on the ground leave nothing green;
Darkneſs muſt overſhadow all his bounds,
Palpable darkneſs, and blot out three days;
Laſt with one midnight ſtroke all the firſt-born
Of Egypt muſt lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
The river-dragon tam'd at length ſubmits

To

the crocodile, which inhabits the Nile, from whence Egypt derives her plenty. This alluſion is taken from that ſublime paſſage in Ezekiel (XXIX. 3.) *Thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold I am againſt thee, Pharoah king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myſelf.* Milton hath given us another very noble and poetical image in the ſame deſcription, which is copied almoſt word for word out of the hiſtory of Moſes.

All night he will purſue, &c.
Addiſon.

188. *Palpable darkneſs,*] *Darkneſs that may be felt,* ſays our tranſlation. In the vulgar Latin it is *tam denſæ ut palpari queant,* from whence our author ſeems to have fetch'd the word *palpable.*

191. *The river-dragon tam'd*] The firſt edition has *This river-dragon*; but in the ſecond it is alter'd to *The,* whether

To let his ſojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his ſtubborn heart, but ſtill as ice
More harden'd after thaw, till in his rage
Purſuing whom he late diſmiſs'd, the ſea
Swallows him with his hoſt, but them lets paſs
As on dry land between two cryſtal walls,
Aw'd by the rod of Moſes ſo to ſtand
Divided, till his reſcued gain their ſhore:
Such wondrous pow'r God to his ſaint will lend,
Though preſent in his Angel, who ſhall go
Before them in a cloud, and pill'ar of fire,
By day a cloud, by night a pill'ar of fire,

To

whether by the poet's direction, or by a miſtake of the printer, we cannot tell. *Pearce.*

193. ——*as ice*
More harden'd after thaw,] For ice warm'd gently into a thaw, is made more receptive of thoſe ſaline and nitrous particles, which fill the freezing air, and inſinuating themſelves into the water already weaken'd, are the cauſe of a harder concretion.

Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida barbis.
Virg. Georg. III. 366.

Iſicles freeze, as they drop, into a wonderful hardneſs. *Hume.*

206. ——*but his approach*
Darkneſs defends between till morning watch;] To *defend* here has the ſignification of to *forbid*, to *hinder*, to *keep off*, as the Latin *defendo* is ſometimes uſed, and the French *defendre*. There is *hoſtem defendre* in Ennius, *ſolſtitium pecori defendite* in Virgil, *defendere frigus* in Horace. *Darkneſs between defends*, forbids and hinders, *his approach till the morning watch*, alluding to Exod. XIV. 19, 20. *And the Angel of God, which went before the camp of Iſrael, remov'd and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and ſtood behind them: And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Iſrael, and it was a cloud*

To guide them in their journey, and remove
Behind them, while th' obdurate king purſues:
All night he will purſue, but his approach
Darkneſs defends between till morning watch;
Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth will trouble all his hoſt,
And craze their chariot wheels: when by command
Moſes once more his potent rod extends
Over the ſea; the ſea his rod obeys;
On their imbattel'd ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war: the race elect
Safe towards Canaan from the ſhore advance

Through

cloud and darkneſs to them, but it gave light by night to theſe, ſo that the one came not near the other all the night. And Milton himſelf has uſed *defended* in the ſame manner, XI. 86. *that defended fruit.* See the note there. And again in Parad. Reg. II. 369.

——no interdict
Defends the touching of theſe viands pure.

And ſo Spenſer uſes it, Faery Queen, B. IV. Cant. 3. St. 32.

Himſelf to ſave, and danger to *defend.*

And ſo polite a writer as Sir William Temple, in the concluſion of his Eſſay upon the cure of the gout by Moxa, ſpeaking of wine ſays, that "the uſe of it pure was in "ſome places defended by cuſtoms "or laws."

210. *And craze their chariot wheels:*] Bruiſe or break them in pieces. *Craze* from the French *ecraſer* to bruiſe or break. So I. 311. the chariot wheels are ſaid to have been *broken*, though Exod. XIV. 25. 'tis only ſaid they were *taken off*, ſo that the chariots were *driven heavily*. Milton who perfectly underſtood the original has therefore expounded this *taking off* to be *breaking*; tho' that may mean no more, than what we do when we ſay ſuch a one is *crazy*, broken with age and diſabled. *Richardſon.* *The pot was crazed* is in Chaucer. See Lye's Junius upon the word *craſie.*

216.—*not*

Through the wild deſert, not the readieſt way,
Leſt entring on the Canaanite alarm'd
War terrify them inexpert, and fear
Return them back to Egypt, chooſing rather
Inglorious life with ſervitude; for life
To noble and ignoble is more ſweet
Untrain'd in arms, where raſhneſs leads not on.
This alſo ſhall they gain by their delay
In the wide wilderneſs, there they ſhall found
Their government, and their great ſenate chooſe
Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd:
God from the mount of Sinai, whoſe gray top
Shall

216. —— *not the readieſt way*, &c.] It is remarkable, that here Milton omits the moral cauſe (tho' he gives the poetical) of the Iſraelites wand'ring forty years in the wilderneſs, and this was their poltron mutiny on the return of the ſpies. He omitted this with judgment, for this laſt ſpeech of the Angel was to give ſuch a repreſentation of things, as might convey comfort to Adam: otherwiſe the ſtory of the brazen ſerpent would have afforded noble imagery. *Warburton.*

216. —— *not the readieſt way*,] For Exod. XIII. 17, 18. *It came to paſs when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philiſtines, although that was near.* That was the neareſt way from Egypt to Canaan, and was a journey of not above three days, as Philo ſays; others ſay of ten. But certainly it was no great way, for the ſons of Jacob went it often to and fro. See Biſhop Patrick. *For God ſaid, Leſt peradventure the people repent, when they ſee war, and they return to Egypt. But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderneſs of the Red Sea.*

227.—*whoſe gray top*] An uſual epithet of mountains, becauſe the ſnow lies longer there than in the valleys, and upon ſome of their lofty brows all the year long.

——Gelidus *canis* cum montibus humor
Liquitur. Virg. Georg. I. 43.
Hume.

But this epithet was more proper and

Shall tremble, he deſcending, will himſelf
In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets ſound,
Ordain them laws; part ſuch as appertain
To civil juſtice, part religious rites
Of ſacrifice, informing them, by types
And ſhadows, of that deſtin'd Seed to bruiſe
The Serpent, by what means he ſhall achieve
Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God
To mortal ear is dreadful; they beſeech
That Moſes might report to them his will,
And terror ceaſe; he grants what they beſought
Inſtructed that to God is no acceſs

Without

and peculiar to Sinai at that time, as it was cover'd with *clouds* and *ſmoke*. See Exod. XIX.

230, &c. 245, &c.] By theſe paſſages Milton ſeems to have underſtood no more of the Jewiſh inſtitution than he ſaw in the ſmall Preſbyterian ſyſtems; otherwiſe the true idea of the theocracy would have afforded ſome noble obſervations. *Warburton.*

Milton ſpeaks of the civil and the ritual, that is the judicial and the ceremonial precepts delivered to the Jews; but why did he omit the moral law contained in the ten commandments? Poſſibly his reaſon might be, becauſe this was ſuppoſed to be written originally in the heart of Man, and therefore Adam muſt have been perfectly acquainted with it: but however I think, this ſhould have been particularly mention'd, as it was publiſh'd at this time in the moſt ſolemn manner by God from mount Sinai; and as it was thought worthy to be written with his own finger upon two tables of ſtone, when the reſt were convey'd to the people by the writing and preaching of Moſes, as a mediator between God and them. *Greenwood.*

237. *That Moſes might report*] Dr. Bentley would read *may report*.

238.—*he grants what they beſought*] In the firſt edition it was thus, *he grants them their deſire*, but in the ſecond it was alter'd to this, *he grants what they beſought*: I ſuppoſe that the conſtruction might he plainer in what follows, *Inſtructed that to God* &c.

242.—*of*

Without mediator, whoſe high office now
Moſes in figure bears, to introduce
One greater, of whoſe day he ſhall foretel,
And all the prophets in their age the times
Of great Meſſi'ah ſhall ſing. Thus laws and rites
Eſtabliſh'd, ſuch delight hath God in men
Obedient to his will, that he vouchſafes
Among them to ſet up his tabernacle,
The holy One with mortal men to dwell:
By his preſcript a ſanctuary is fram'd
Of cedar, overlaid with gold, therein
An ark, and in the ark his teſtimony,
The records of his covenant, over theſe
A mercy-ſeat of gold between the wings

Of

242.——*of whoſe day he ſhall foretel,*
And all the prophets &c.] Acts III. 22, 24. *For Moſes truly ſaid unto the fathers, A prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe up unto you of your brethren, like unto me—yea and all the prophets from Samuel, and thoſe that follow after, as many as have ſpoken, have likewiſe foretold of theſe days.*

255. *Sev'n lamps as in a zodiac repreſenting*
The heav'nly fires;] That the ſeven lamps ſignified the ſeven planets, and that therefore the lamps ſtood ſlopewiſe, as it were to expreſs the obliquity of the zodiac, is the gloſs of Joſephus, from whom probably our author borrow'd it. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 3. c. 6 & 7. and De Bel. Jud. Lib. 5. c. 5. See likewiſe Mede's Diſcourſe 10, upon the ſeven Arch-Angels. Mr. Hume quotes likewiſe the Latin of Philo to the ſame purpoſe: Myſticè candelabrum hoc ſeptifidum imago erat ſphæræ ſeptiluſtris, ſive ſeptem planetarum. Tabernaculum typus mundi. Sanctum ſanctorum, typus cœli empyrei beatorum. See Cornelius a Lapide upon Exod. XXV. 31.

258. *Save when they journey,*] *Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled*

Of two bright Cherubim; before him burn
Sev'n lamps as in a zodiac repreſenting
The heav'nly fires; over the tent a cloud
Shall reſt by day, a fiery gleam by night,
Save when they journey, and at length they come,
Conducted by his Angel to the land
Promis'd to Abraham and his ſeed: the reſt
Were long to tell, how many battels fought,
How many kings deſtroy'd, and kingdoms won,
Or how the ſun ſhall in mid Heav'n ſtand ſtill
A day entire, and night's due couſe adjourn,
Man's voice commanding, Sun in Gibeon ſtand,
And thou moon in the vale of Aialon,
Till Iſrael overcome; ſo call the third

From

filled the tabernacle. And Moſes was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation becauſe the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Iſrael went onward in all their journeys. But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journey'd not, till the day that it was taken up. For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the ſight of all the houſe of Iſrael, throughout all their journeys, Exod. XL. 34. *&c.* Thus it was in all places wherever they came: and this is what Milton ſays in ſhort, the cloud was over the tent by day, and the fire (call'd here *a fiery gleam*) by night, when they journey'd not. He takes no notice how it was when they did, which this text (for the infinite beauty of it we have given it at length) explains: The cloud was then taken up; How then? *the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, to go by day and night*, chap. XIII. 21. Other armies pitch their enſigns when they incamp, and lift them up when they march. So does the Lord of hoſts leading forth his people.

From Abraham, ſon of Iſaac, and from him
His whole deſcent, who thus ſhall Canaan win.
Here Adam interpos'd. O ſent from Heaven,
Inlightner of my darkneſs, gracious things
Thou haſt reveal'd, thoſe chiefly which concern
Juſt Abraham and his ſeed: now firſt I find
Mine eyes true opening, and my heart much eas'd,
Erewhile perplex'd with thoughts what would become
Of me and all mankind; but now I ſee
His day, in whom all nations ſhall be bleſt,
Favor

people. But what enſigns! how ſublime! Milton ſeems too conciſe here. *Richardſon.*

270. *Here Adam interpos'd.*] Theſe interpoſitions of Adam have a very good effect, for otherwiſe the continued narration of the Angel would appear too long and tedious.

274. *Mine eyes true opening,*] For that was a falſe promiſe which the Serpent had made, Gen. III. 5. *Your eyes ſhall be open'd* &c.

277. *His day,*] An alluſion to that of our Saviour, John VIII. 56. *Your father Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day; and he ſaw it, and was glad.*

283. *So many laws argue ſo many ſins*] This ſcruple of our firſt father, and the reply of the Angel are grounded upon St. Paul's Epiſtles, and particularly thoſe to the Romans, Galatians and Hebrews, as the reader, who is at all converſant with theſe ſacred writings, will eaſily perceive. It would be too minute and tedious to quote chapter and verſe for every expreſſion: but the reader may peruſe the following texts, and compare them with our author. *Wherefore then ſerveth the law? it was added becauſe of tranſgreſſions.* Gal. III. 19. *I had not known ſin but by the law: But ſin taking occaſion by the commandment wrought in me all manner of concupiſcence.* Rom. VII. 7, 8. *By the deeds of the law there ſhall no fleſh be juſtified in his ſight, for by the law is the knowledge of ſin.* Rom. III. 20. *If the blood of bulls and of goats ſanctifieth to the purifying of the fleſh, how much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the eternal Spirit offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your conſcience from dead works?* Heb. IX. 13, 14. *It is not poſſible that the blood of bulls and*

Favor unmerited by me, who ſought
Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
This yet I apprehend not, why to thoſe
Among whom God will deign to dwell on earth
So many and ſo various laws are given;
So many laws argue ſo many ſins
Among them; how can God with ſuch reſide?
To whom thus Michael. Doubt not but that ſin
Will reign among them, as of thee begot;
And therefore was law giv'n them to evince
Their

and of goats ſhould take away ſins; Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he ſaith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldſt not, but a body haſt thou prepared me. Heb. X. 4, 5. *It was imputed to him for righteouſneſs. Now it was not written for his ſake alone, that it was imputed to him; But for us alſo to whom it ſhall be imputed, if we believe on him that raiſed up Jeſus our Lord from the dead.* Rom. IV. 22, 23, 24. *Therefore being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Rom. V. 1. *For there is verily a diſannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakneſs and unprofitableneſs thereof; For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did.* Heb. VII. 18, 19. *For the law having a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with thoſe ſacrifices make the comers thereunto perfect.* Heb. X. 1. *That no man is juſtified by the law in the ſight of God it is evident; for the juſt ſhall live by faith: And the law is not of faith; but the man that doeth them ſhall live in them—But before faith came, we were kept under the law, ſhut up unto the faith, which ſhould afterwards be revealed.* Gal. III. 11, 12, 23. *Wherefore thou art no more a ſervant, but a ſon.* Gal. IV. 7. *For ye have not received the ſpirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.* Rom. VIII. 15. How admirably hath our author here in a few verſes ſumm'd up the ſenſe and argument of theſe and more texts of Scripture? It is really wonderful, how he could compriſe ſo much divinity in ſo few words, and at the ſame time expreſs it with ſuch ſtrength and perſpicuity.

Their natural pravity, by ſtirring up
Sin againſt law to fight: that when they ſee
Law can diſcover ſin, but not remove,
Save by thoſe ſhadowy expiations weak,
The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
Some blood more precious muſt be paid for man,
Juſt for unjuſt, that in ſuch righteouſneſs
To them by faith imputed, they may find
Juſtification towards God, and peace
Of conſcience, which the law by ceremonies
Cannot appeaſe, nor man the moral part
Perform, and not performing cannot live.
So law appears imperfect, and but given
With purpoſe to reſign them in full time
Up to a better covenant, diſciplin'd
From ſhadowy types to truth, from fleſh to ſpirit,
From impoſition of ſtrict laws to free
Acceptance of large grace, from ſervile fear

To

307. *And therefore ſhall not Moſes,* &c.] Moſes died in mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, from whence he had the proſpect of the promis'd land, but not the honor of leading the Iſraelites in to poſſeſs it, which was reſerv'd for Joſhua. Deut. XXXIV. Joſh. I. Commentators on the death of Aaron in mount Hor, Numb. XX. 28. remark that neither Miriam that is the prophets, nor Aaron that is the prieſts, nor Moſes the deliverer of the law, but Joſhua that is Jeſus Chriſt, was able to lead God's people into the promis'd land, to Heaven and everlaſting bliſs. St. Jerom. Theod. Rabanus &c. *Hume.*

311. *His name and office bearing,*] Joſhua was in many things a type

of

To filial, works of law to works of faith.
And therefore ſhall not Moſes, though of God
Highly belov'd, being but the miniſter
Of law, his people into Canaan lead;
But Joſhua whom the Gentiles Jeſus call,
His name and office bearing, who ſhall quell
The adverſary Serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderneſs long wander'd man
Safe to eternal Paradiſe of reſt.
Mean while they in their earthly Canaan plac'd
Long time ſhall dwell and proſper, but when ſins
National interrupt their public peace,
Provoking God to raiſe them enemies;
From whom as oft he ſaves them penitent
By judges firſt, then under kings; of whom
The ſecond, both for piety renown'd,
And puiſſant deeds, a promiſe ſhall receive
Irrevocable, that his legal throne

For

of Jeſus; and the names are the ſame, Joſhua according to the Hebrew, and Jeſus in Greek. The Seventy always render Joſhua by Jeſus, and there are two paſſages in the New Teſtament where Jeſus is uſed for Joſhua, once by St. Stephen, Acts VII. 45. *The tabernacle which our fathers brought in with Jeſus*, that is with Joſhua, *into the poſſeſſion of the Gentiles*; and again by St. Paul, Heb. IV. 8. *If Jeſus*, that is if Joſhua, *had given them reſt, then would he not afterwards have ſpoken of another day.* And the name Joſhua or Jeſus ſignifies a Saviour.

322.—*a promiſe ſhall receive* &c.] The poet alludes here to the following prophecies: *And thine houſe, and thy kingdom, ſhall be eſtabliſh'd for*

For ever ſhall indure; the like ſhall ſing
All prophecy, that of the royal ſtock
Of David (ſo I name this king) ſhall riſe
A ſon, the woman's ſeed to thee foretold,
Foretold to Abraham, as in whom ſhall truſt
All nations, and to kings foretold, of kings
The laſt, for of his reign ſhall be no end.
But firſt a long ſucceſſion muſt enſue,
And his next ſon, for wealth and wiſdom fam'd,
The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
Wand'ring, ſhall in a glorious temple' inſhrine.
Such follow him as ſhall be regiſter'd
Part good, part bad, of bad the longer ſcroll.
Whoſe foul idolatries, and other faults

Heap'd

ever before thee; thy throne ſhall be eſtabliſh'd for ever, 2 Sam. VII. 16. And this promiſe is called *irrevocable*, for ſays God Pſal. LXXXIX. 34, 35, 36. *My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips. Once have I ſworn by my holineſs that I will not lie unto David. His ſeed ſhall endure for ever, and his throne as the ſun before me.* The poet goes on, *the like ſhall ſing all prophecy*, all the prophets ſhall foretel the ſame, *that of the royal ſtock of David ſhall riſe a ſon*, inſomuch that when the Phariſees were aſked Whoſe ſon is Chriſt, they all readily anſwer *The ſon of David.* Matth. XXII. 42. *foretold to thee as the Woman's ſeed*, Gen. III. 15. *foretold to Abraham as* a perſon *in whom all nations ſhall truſt*, Gen. XXII. 18. *And in thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed, and in him ſhall the Gentiles truſt*, Rom. XV. 12. *and to kings foretold*, as *the laſt of kings, for of his reign ſhall be no end*, according to the declaration of the Angel, Luke I. 32, 33. *The Lord God ſhall give unto him the throne of his father David; And he ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there ſhall be no end.* So thoroughly has our author ſtudied all the parts of

Heap'd to the popular ſum, will ſo incenſe
God, as to leave them, and expoſe their land,
Their city', his temple, and his holy ark
With all his ſacred things, a ſcorn and prey
To that proud city, whoſe high walls thou ſaw'ſt
Left in confuſion, Babylon thence call'd.
There in captivity he lets them dwell
The ſpace of ſev'nty years, then brings them back,
Remembring mercy, and his covenant ſworn
To David, ſtabliſh'd as the days of Heaven.
Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
Their lords, whom God diſpos'd, the houſe of God
They firſt re-edify, and for a while
In mean eſtate live moderate, till grown

In

of holy Scripture, and digeſted them into this work.

342.——*whoſe high walls thou ſaw'ſt* &c.] I know not whether the poet has not here forgotten himſelf a little; for it is not ſtrictly true, that Adam *ſaw* the walls left in confuſion; it was no part of Adam's viſion; it is only a part of the Angel's narration in this book. I was thinking then that perhaps Adam might ſee places, tho' he could not ſee perſons; as he ſees the Nile, ver. 158, and mount Hermon and the Mediterranean, ver. 142, tho' he could not ſee Abraham, ver. 128: but the Mediterranean, and Hermon, and the Nile, ſeas, and mountains, and rivers, are ſuch places as exiſted at that very time, whereas the walls of Babel or Babylon were not built till ſeveral years afterwards, and Adam ſeems now to have loſt his proſpect of things future; as the Angel ſays, *I perceive thy mortal ſight to fail*, ver. 9. We muſt not therefore underſtand the expreſſion litterally; for verbs of *ſeeing* are often extended beyond the bare act, and are applied to other ſenſes and other faculties of the mind.

In wealth and multitude, factious they grow;
But firſt among the prieſts diſſention ſprings,
Men who attend the altar, and ſhould moſt
Endevor peace: their ſtrife pollution brings
Upon the temple itſelf: at laſt they ſeiſe
The ſcepter, and regard not David's ſons,
Then loſe it to a ſtranger, that the true
Anointed king Meſſiah might be born
Barr'd of his right; yet at his birth a ſtar
Unſeen before in Heav'n, proclames him come,
And guides the eaſtern ſages, who inquire
His place, to offer incenſe, myrrh, and gold;
His place of birth a ſolemn Angel tells
To ſimple ſhepherds, keeping watch by night;
They gladly thither haſte, and by a quire
Of ſquadron'd Angels hear his carol ſung.
A virgin is his mother, but his ſire
The pow'r of the moſt High; he ſhall aſcend
The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
With

355.—*their ſtrife pollution brings Upon the temple itſelf:* &c.] For it was chiefly through the conteſts between Jaſon and Menelaus, high-prieſts of the Jews, that the temple was polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes. See 2 Maccab. V. and Prideaux. *At laſt they ſeiſe the ſcepter*, Ariſtobulus eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, high-prieſt of the Jews, was the firſt who aſſumed the title of king after the Babyloniſh captivity; before Chriſt 107. *And regard not David's ſons*, none of that family having

With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heavens.
He ceas'd, diſcerning Adam with ſuch joy
Surcharg'd, as had like grief been dew'd in tears,
Without the vent of words, which theſe he breath'd.
O prophet of glad tidings, finiſher
Of utmoſt hope! now clear I underſtand
What oft my ſteddieſt thoughts had ſearch'd in vain;
Why our great expectation ſhould be call'd
The ſeed of Woman: Virgin Mother, hail,
High in the love of Heav'n, yet from my loins
Thou ſhalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
Of God moſt High; ſo God with Man unites.
Needs muſt the Serpent now his capital bruiſe
Expect with mortal pain: ſay where and when
Their fight, what ſtroke ſhall bruiſe the victor's heel.
To whom thus Michael. Dream not of their fight,
As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel: not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to God-head, with more ſtrength to foil
Thy

having had the government ſince Zerubbabel. *Then loſe it to a ſtranger*, to Herod who was an Idumean, in whoſe reign Chriſt was born. See Joſephus and Prideaux.

370. ——*and bounds his reign With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heavens.*]

Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet aſtris.
Virg. Æn. I. 287.

Thy enemy; nor ſo is overcome
Satan, whoſe fall from Heav'n, a deadlier bruiſe,
Diſabled not to give thee thy death's wound:
Which he, who comes thy Saviour, ſhall recure
Not by deſtroying Satan, but his works
In thee and in thy ſeed: nor can this be,
But by fulfilling that which thou didſt want,
Obedience to the law of God, impos'd
On penalty of death, and ſuffering death,
The penalty to thy tranſgreſſion due,
And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:
So only can high juſtice reſt appaid.
The law of God exact he ſhall fulfil
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law; thy puniſhment

He

394. ——*his works*
In thee and in thy ſeed:] 1 John III. 8. *For this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil.*

400. *And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:*] Puniſhment is due to men's actual tranſgreſſions, tho' the original depravity, the tranſgreſſion of Adam, was the root of them. *Richardſon.*

403. ——*though love*
Alone fulfil the law;] Rom. XIII. 10. *Love is the fulfilling of the law.*

409. ——*his merits*
To ſave them, &c.] Dr. Bentley ſays that the conſtruction demands *Do ſave them,* and ſo he ſuppoſes that Milton gave it. But I cannot ſee with what propriety, when Milton is ſpeaking of things to come, and uſing the future tenſe before and after this ſentence, he can here jump at once into the preſent tenſe *do,* and repreſent Chriſt's merits as then actually *ſaving them.* And yet tho' I diſlike the Doctor's alteration, I confeſs that there is a difficulty in the common reading. The only ſenſe that I can make of it is this,

He ſhall indure by coming in the fleſh
To a reproachful life and curſed death,
Proclaming life to all who ſhall believe
In his redemption, and that his obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith, his merits
To ſave them, not their own, though legal works.
For this he ſhall live hated, be blaſphem'd,
Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemn'd
A ſhameful and accurs'd, nail'd to the croſs
By his own nation, ſlain for bringing life;
But to the croſs he nails thy enemies,
The law that is againſt thee, and the ſins
Of all mankind, with him there crucify'd,
Never to hurt them more who rightly truſt
In this his ſatisfaction; ſo he dies,

But

this, Which *redemption* and *obedience* are *his merits to ſave them*, and not their own works, tho' legal ones and ſtrictly conformable to the law. *Pearce.*

I rather underſtand the paſſage thus, I apprehend that the verb *believe* governs the reſt of the ſentence, *Proclaming life to all who ſhall believe in his redemption, and* ſhall believe *that his obedience imputed becomes theirs by faith, and* ſhall believe *his merits to ſave them, not their own, though legal works.*

413. *A ſhameful and accurs'd,*] *For it is written, Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* Gal. III. 13. Deut. XXI. 23.

415. *But to the croſs he nails thy enemies,*] The enemies of Adam were the *law that was againſt him* and the *ſins of all mankind* as ſpringing originally from him, and therefore in ſome ſenſe chargeable upon him. The author in this paſſage alludes to Col. II. 14. *Blotting out the hand writing of ordinances that was againſt us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his croſs.*

424. *Thy*

But ſoon revives; death over him no power
Shall long uſurp; ere the third dawning light
Return, the ſtars of morn ſhall ſee him riſe
Out of his grave, freſh as the dawning light,
Thy ranſome paid, which man from death redeems,
His death for man, as many as offer'd life
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
By faith not void of works: this God-like act
Annuls thy doom, the death thou ſhouldſt have dy'd,
In ſin for ever loſt from life; this act
Shall bruiſe the head of Satan, cruſh his ſtrength,
Defeating ſin and death, his two main arms,
And fix far deeper in his head their ſtings
Than temp'ral death ſhall bruiſe the victor's heel,
Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like ſleep,
A gentle wafting to immortal life.
Nor after reſurrection ſhall he ſtay
Longer on earth than certain times to' appear

To

424. *Thy ranſome paid.*] The two firſt editions have *Thy* (the latter ones *The*): and Milton's word may be defended, if we ſuppoſe that Adam is here ſpoken of not as a ſingle perſon, but as one in whoſe loins all mankind was contain'd, or as one who was repreſentative of the whole human ſpecies. And ſo the poet ſpeaks again in 427.

——this God-like act
Annuls *thy* doom, &c. *Pearce.*

432. *And fix far deeper in his head their ſtings*
Than temp'ral death ſhall bruiſe the victor's heel,] Before we come to a concluſion, it may be proper to remark here once for all, that Milton makes no diſtinction between *then* and *than*, but ſpells both alike *then*,

To his diſciples, men who in his life
Still follow'd him; to them ſhall leave in charge
To teach all nations what of him they learn'd
And his ſalvation, them who ſhall believe
Baptizing in the profluent ſtream, the ſign
Of waſhing them from guilt of ſin to life
Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if ſo befall,
For death, like that which the Redeemer dy'd.
All nations they ſhall teach; for from that day
Not only to the ſons of Abraham's loins
Salvation ſhall be preach'd, but to the ſons
Of Abraham's faith wherever through the world;
So in his ſeed all nations ſhall be bleſt.
Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he ſhall aſcend
With victory, triumphing through the air
Over his foes and thine; there ſhall ſurpriſe
The Serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;
Then

then, which muſt neceſſarily occaſion ſome obſcurity and confuſion. *Their* too he commonly writes *thir*, but this greatly offends the eye, we are ſo much habituated to the other; and at the ſame time he frequently uſes *theirs*, and there ſeems to be no reaſon why the one ſhould be written differently from the other. It is hoped therefore that theſe things have been alter'd for the better.

445. *For death, like that which the Redeemer dy'd.*] Dr. Bentley ſays (and it is not improbable) that the author gave it,

which *their* Redeemer dy'd.

457.—*ex-*

Then enter into glory, and reſume
His ſeat at God's right hand, exalted high
Above all names in Heav'n; and thence ſhall come,
When this world's diſſolution ſhall be ripe,
With glory' and pow'r to judge both quick and dead,
To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliſs,
Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradiſe, far happier place
Than this of Eden, and far happier days.
So ſpake th' Arch-Angel Michaël, then paus'd,
As at the world's great period; and our ſire
Replete with joy and wonder thus reply'd.

O

457. ——*exalted high*
Above all names in Heav'n;] Phil. II. 9. *Wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.* Or as it is expreſs'd Eph. I. 20, 21. *Hath ſet him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, above every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come.*

459. *When this world's diſſolution ſhall be ripe,*] In the later editions we have *the world's:* but I prefer *this*, which is found in the two firſt; becauſe this reading admits the ictus on the ſecond ſyllable of the verſe (where it ought to be) whereas the other reading throws it off upon the third. *Pearce.*

469. *O Goodneſs infinite, Goodneſs immenſe!* &c.] The poet has very finely repreſented the joy and gladneſs of heart, which riſes in Adam upon his diſcovery of the Meſſiah. As he ſees his day at a diſtance through types and ſhadows, he rejoices in it; but when he finds the redemption of man completed, and Paradiſe again renew'd, he breaks forth in rapture and tranſport. I have hinted before, that an heroic poem according to the opinion of the beſt critics, ought to end happily, and leave the mind of the reader, after having conducted it through many doubts and fears, ſorrows and diſquietudes, in a ſtate of tranquillity and ſatisfaction. Milton's

O Goodneſs infinite, Goodneſs immenſe!
That all this good of evil ſhall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation firſt brought forth
Light out of darkneſs! full of doubt I ſtand,
Whether I ſhould repent me now of ſin
By me done and occaſion'd, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof ſhall ſpring,
To God more glory, more good will to men
From God, and over wrath grace ſhall abound.
But ſay, if our Deliverer up to Heaven
Muſt reaſcend, what will betide the few
His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,

The

ton's fable, which had ſo many other qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this particular. It is here therefore, that the poet has ſhown a moſt exquiſite judgment, as well as the fineſt invention, by finding out a method to ſupply this natural defect in his ſubject. Accordingly he leaves the adverſary of mankind, in the laſt view which he gives us of him, under the loweſt ſtate of mortification and diſappointment. We ſee him chewing aſhes, groveling in the duſt, and loaden with ſupernumerary pains and torments. On the contrary our two firſt parents are comforted by dreams and viſions, cheared with promiſes of ſalvation, and in a manner raiſed to a greater happineſs, than that which they had forfeited: In ſhort, Satan is repreſented miſerable in the highth of his triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the highth of miſery. *Addiſon.*

475. ——*or rejoice*
Much more, that much more good thereof ſhall ſpring,] He ſeems to have remember'd that rant of one of the fathers, O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem! O happy fault, which deſerved to have ſuch and ſo great a redeemer! As in what follows, *To God more glory*, &c. he alludes to the heavenly hymn, *Glory to God in the higheſt* &c.

487. The

The enemies of truth? who then ſhall guide
His people, who defend? will they not deal
Worſe with his followers than with him they dealt?
Be ſure they will, ſaid th' Angel; but from Heaven
He to his own a Comforter will ſend,
The promiſe of the Father, who ſhall dwell
His Spirit within them, and the law of faith
Working through love, upon their hearts ſhall write,
To guide them in all truth, and alſo arm
With ſpiritual armour, able to reſiſt
Satan's aſſaults, and quench his fiery darts,
What man can do againſt them, not afraid,
Though to the death, againſt ſuch cruelties
With inward conſolations recompens'd,
And oft ſupported ſo as ſhall amaze
Their proudeſt perſecutors: for the Spirit
Pour'd firſt on his Apoſtles, whom he ſends

To

487. *The promiſe of the Father,*] Luke XXIV. 49. *And behold I ſend the promiſe of my Father upon you.*

490. *To guide them in all truth,*] John XVI. 13. *When the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth.*

490. ——*and alſo arm*
With ſpiritual armour, able to reſiſt
Satan's aſſaults, and quench his fiery darts,] Alluding to Eph. VI. 11, &c. *Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the Devil—— wherewith ye ſhall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.*

493. *What man can do againſt*
them, not afraid,
Though to the death,] So this paſſage is pointed in Milton's own editions, and I ſuppoſe the conſtruction to be, *Not afraid of what man*

can

To evangelize the nations, then on all
Baptiz'd, ſhall them with wondrous gifts indue
To ſpeak all tongues, and do all miracles,
As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
Great numbers of each nation to receive
With joy the tidings brought from Heav'n: at length
Their miniſtry perform'd, and race well run,
Their doctrin and their ſtory written left,
They die; but in their room, as they forewarn,
Wolves ſhall ſucceed for teachers, grievous wolves,
Who all the ſacred myſteries of Heaven
To their own vile advantages ſhall turn
Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
With ſuperſtitions and traditions taint,
Left only in thoſe written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit underſtood.
Then ſhall they ſeek to' avail themſelves of names,
Places,

can do againſt them though to the death, though it be perſecution to death itſelf; and it is an alluſion to Pſal. LVI. 11. *I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.*

507.—*but in their room, as they forewarn,*
Wolves ſhall ſucceed &c.] So St. Paul had forewarn'd the elders of the church at Miletus, to which the author here alludes, Acts XX. 29. *For I know this, that after my departure ſhall grievous wolves enter in among you, not ſparing the flock.* See too his *Conſiderations touching the likelieſt means to remove hirelings out of the Chriſtian church.* Vol. I. p. 563. Edit. 1738. Not long after as the Apoſtle foretold, hirelings like wolves came in by herds &c.

514. *Though not but by the Spirit underſtood*] I don't think Milton

Places, and titles, and with theſe to join
Secular pow'r; though feigning ſtill to act
By ſpiritual, to themſelves appropriating
The Spi'rit of God, promis'd alike and given
To all believers; and from that pretence,
Spiritual laws by carnal pow'r ſhall force
On every conſcience; laws which none ſhall find
Left them inroll'd, or what the Spi'rit within
Shall on the heart ingrave. What will they then
But force the Spi'rit of grace itſelf, and bind
His conſort liberty? what, but unbuild
His living temples, built by faith to ſtand,
Their own faith not another's? for on earth
Who againſt faith and conſcience can be heard
Infallible? yet many will preſume:
Whence heavy perſecution ſhall ariſe

On

ton in all his writings ever gave a ſtronger proof of his enthuſiaſtical ſpirit than in this line. *Warburton.* I ſuppoſe he alluded to 1 Cor. II. 14. *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſs unto him; neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcern'd:* underſtanding it as ſome enthuſiaſtic Sectariſts have underſtood it.

522. —— *laws which none ſhall find* &c.] Laws neither agreeable to reveal'd or natural religion, neither to be found in holy Scripture, or written on their hearts by the Spirit of God, according to that divine promiſe, Jer. XXXI. 33. *I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.*

526. *His conſort liberty?*] *For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,* 2 Cor. III. 17.

527. *His living temples,*] Chriſtians are call'd the *temples of God,* 1 Cor. III. 16, 17. and VI. 19.

532. *On*

On all who in the worſhip perſevere
Of ſpi'rit and truth; the reſt, far greater part,
Will deem in outward rites and ſpecious forms
Religion ſatisfy'd; truth ſhall retire
Beſtuck with ſland'rous darts, and works of faith
Rarely be found: ſo ſhall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign,
Under her own weight groaning, till the day
Appear of reſpiration to the juſt,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him ſo lately promis'd to thy aid
The Woman's Seed, obſcurely then foretold
Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
Laſt in the clouds from Heav'n to be reveal'd
In glory of the Father, to diſſolve
Satan with his perverted world, then raiſe

From

532. *On all who in the worſhip perſevere*
Of ſp'rit and truth;] He alludes to John IV. 23. *The true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and in truth.*

534. *Will deem*] This is the genuin reading of the firſt edition; in the ſecond it was printed by miſtake *Well deem*, but abſurd as this reading is, it has been follow'd in all the editions which I have ſeen, till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's.

540. ——*the day of reſpiration*] This is what the Scripture calls *the times of refreſhing*, Acts III. 19.

546. ——*to diſſolve*
Satan with his perverted world,] An expreſſion of the ſame import, as when the light is ſaid to *diſſolve* the darkneſs,

Extulit os ſacrum cœlo, tenebraſque *reſolvit*. Virg. Æn. VIII. 591.

Our author probably borrow'd the phraſe from Scripture, 2 Pet. III. 11,

From the conflagrant maſs, purg'd and refin'd,
New Heav'ns, new Earth, ages of endleſs date
Founded in righteouſneſs and peace and love,
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliſs.
He ended; and thus Adam laſt reply'd.
How ſoon hath thy prediction, Seer bleſt,
Meaſur'd this tranſient world, the race of time,
Till time ſtand fix'd? beyond is all abyſs,
Eternity, whoſe end no eye can reach.
Greatly inſtructed I ſhall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this veſſel can contain;
Beyond which was my folly to aſpire.
Henceforth I learn, that to obey is beſt,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his preſence, ever to obſerve

His

11, 12. *Seeing then that all theſe things ſhall be* diſſolved &c. *the Heavens being on fire ſhall be* diſſolved. And he had mention'd before, ver. 459. *this world's diſſolution.*

549. *New Heav'ns, new Earth,*] The very words of St. Peter, 2 Pet. III. 13. *Nevertheleſs we, according to his promiſe, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs.* This notion, of the Heavens and Earth being renew'd after the conflagration, and made the habitation of Angels and juſt men made perfect, was very pleaſing to our author, as it was to Dr. Burnet, and muſt be to every one of a fine and exalted imagination; and Milton has inlarged upon it in ſeveral parts of his works, and particularly in this poem, III. 333, &c. X. 638. XI. 65, 900. XII. 462.

568. *Subverting worldly ſtrong,* &c.] 1 Cor. I. 27. *God hath choſen the fooliſh*

His providence, and on him ſole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by ſmall
Accompliſhing great things, by things deem'd weak
Subverting worldly ſtrong, and worldly wiſe
By ſimply meek; that ſuffering for truth's ſake
Is fortitude to higheſt victory,
And to the faithful death the gate of life;
Taught this by his example whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever bleſt.
To whom thus alſo th' Angel laſt reply'd.
This having learn'd, thou haſt attain'd the ſum
Of wiſdom; hope no high'er, though all the ſtars
Thou knew'ſt by name, and all th' ethereal pow'rs,
All ſecrets of the deep, all Nature's works,
Or works of God in Heav'n, air, earth, or ſea,
And

fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe; and God hath choſen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. And ſo in the reſt there is the ſenſe of Scripture, if not the very words. As *to obey is beſt*, 1 Sam. XV. 22. *Behold to obey is better than ſacrifice.* And *on him ſole depend*, 1 Pet. V. 7. *Caſting all your care upon him, for he careth for you.* And *merciful over all his works*, Pſal. CXLV. 9. *His mercies are over all his works*, &c.

574. *To whom thus alſo th' Angel laſt reply'd.*] This is the laſt ſpeech of the Angel, as the foregoing one was the laſt ſpeech of Adam; and they are both introduced in the ſame manner. It was ſaid before,

—*thus Adam laſt reply'd:*

and here it is ſaid again,,

—*thus alſo th' Angel laſt reply'd.*

This repetition is not below our notice.

And all the riches of this world enjoy'dſt,
And all the rule, one empire; only add
Deeds to thy knowledge anſwerable, add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance, add love,
By name to come call'd charity, the ſoul
Of all the reſt: then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradiſe, but ſhalt poſſeſs
A Paradiſe within thee, happier far.
Let us deſcend now therefore from this top
Of ſpeculation; for the hour preciſe
Exacts our parting hence; and ſee the guards,
By me incamp'd on yonder hill, expect
Their motion, at whoſe front a flaming ſword,
In ſignal of remove, waves fiercely round;
We may no longer ſtay: go, waken Eve;
Her alſo I with gentle dreams have calm'd
Por-

581. —— *only add* &c.] See 2 Pet. I. 5, &c. *And beſides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godlineſs; and to godlineſs, brotherly kindneſs; and to brotherly kindneſs, charity.* A text that the reader may have the pleaſure of ſeeing excellently explain'd and illuſtrated in a moſt ingenious diſcourſe by Mr. Warburton.

588. —— *from this top Of ſpeculation;*] From this viſionary highth, from this hill of prophecy and prediction. *Speculation*, a watching on a tower or high place, thence a diſcovery, therefore applied to the prophets in the ſacred page, who are call'd *ſeers* and *watchmen*, *ſpeculatores* of *ſpecula* Latin, a watch-tower; *Son of Man, I have made thee a watchman unto the houſe of Iſrael.* Ezek. III. 17. more exactly deſcribed chap. XXXIII. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Hume.*

So

Portending good, and all her ſpi'rits compos'd
To meek ſubmiſſion: thou at ſeaſon fit
Let her with thee partake what thou haſt heard,
Chiefly what may concern her faith to know
The great deliverance by her ſeed to come
(For by the Woman's ſeed) on all mankind:
That ye may live, which will be many days,
Both in one faith unanimous though ſad,
With cauſe for evils paſt, yet much more chear'd
With meditation on the happy end.

He ended, and they both deſcend the hill;
Deſcended, Adam to the bow'r where Eve
Lay ſleeping ran before, but found her wak'd;
And thus with words not ſad ſhe him receiv'd.

Whence thou return'ſt, and whither went'ſt, I know;

For

So Parad. Reg. IV. 236. *This ſpecular mount.* Richardſon.

608. ——*but found her wak'd*;] There is ſome inconſiſtence between this and what is ſaid in the argument to this book, which was written afterwards. There it is ſaid that Adam *wakens Eve*, but here that he *found her wak'd*.

609. *And thus with words not ſad ſhe him receiv'd.*] Milton's poem ends very nobly. The laſt ſpeeches of Adam and the Archangel are full of moral and inſtructive ſentiments. The ſleep that fell upon Eve, and the effects it had in quieting the diſorders of her mind, produce the ſame kind of conſolation in the reader, who cannot peruſe the laſt beautiful ſpeech, which is aſcribed to the mother of mankind, without a ſecret pleaſure and ſatisfaction. The following lines, which conclude the poem, riſe in a moſt glorious blaze of poetical images and expreſſions. *Addiſon.*

For God is alſo' in ſleep, and dreams adviſe,
Which he hath ſent propitious, ſome great good
Preſaging, ſince with ſorrow' and heart's diſtreſs
Wearied I fell aſleep: but now lead on
In me is no delay; with thee to go,
Is to ſtay here; without thee here to ſtay,
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art baniſh'd hence.
This further conſolation yet ſecure
I carry hence; though all by me is loſt,
Such favor I unworthy am vouchſaf'd,

By

611. *For God is alſo' in ſleep, and dreams adviſe,*] Is *alſo* in ſleep, and admoniſhes by dreams as well as by viſions, according to Numb. XII. 6. *If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known unto him in a viſion, and I will ſpeak unto him in a dream.* And thus Homer, Iliad. I. 63. Και γαρ τ' ονειρ εκ Διος εστιν. Nam et ſomnium quoque ab Jove eſt. And the application is very elegant in this place, as Adam's was a viſion, and Eve's a dream, and God was in the one as well as in the other.

615. *In me is no delay;*] In me mora non erit ulla. Virg. Ecl. III. 52.

616. *Is to ſtay here;* &c.] She is now come to that temper of mind, as to think it Paradiſe, wherever her huſband is, as the Angel had taught her before, XI. 290.

Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes
Thy huſband; him to follow thou art bound;
Where he abides, think there thy native ſoil.

So that the Author makes Woman's Paradiſe to be in company with her huſband, but Man's to be in himſelf, ver. 587.

A Paradiſe within thee, happier far.

625. ——*for now too nigh*
Th' Arch-Angel ſtood,] Our poet obſerves the το πρεπον, the decorum to the laſt degree, making our firſt parents ſuch perfect patterns of modeſty, as to forbear their indearments,

By me the promis'd Seed ſhall all reſtore.
So ſpake our mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but anſwer'd not; for now too nigh
The Arch-Angel ſtood, and from the other hill
To their fix'd ſtation, all in bright array
The Cherubim deſcended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening miſt
Ris'n from a river o'er the mariſh glides,
And gathers ground faſt at the lab'rer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanc'd
The brandiſh'd ſword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,

And

ments, though but in words, at the Angel's approach. *Hume.*

629. *Gliding meteorous,*] Heliodorus in his Ethiopics acquaints us, that the motion of the Gods differs from that of mortals, as the former do not ſtir their feet, nor proceed ſtep by ſtep, but ſlide o'er the ſurface of the earth by an uniform ſwimming of the whole body. The reader may obſerve with how poetical a deſcription Milton has attributed the ſame kind of motion to the Angels who were to take poſſeſſion of Paradiſe. *Addiſon.*

630.—*mariſh*] An old word for marſh, of the French *marais*, and of the Latin *mariſcus*, ruſhes commonly growing there. The word occurs in 1 Maccab. IX. 42. *they turned again to the mariſh of Jordan*, and again ver. 45. *the mariſh likewiſe and wood.* We meet with it too in Shakeſpear, 1 Henry VI. Act I. as Mr. Pope and Mr. Warburton rightly read the paſſage,

Our ile be made a *mariſh* of ſalt tears.

And throughout the courſe of our remarks we have been the more willing to explain and illuſtrate our author by ſimilar expreſſions and ſentiments in Shakeſpear, not only becauſe Milton was a great reader and admirer of his works, but alſo becauſe we conceive Shakeſpear and Milton to be two of the moſt extraordinary geniuſes and greateſt poets, whom any country or any time has produced.

And vapor as the Lybian air aduſt,
Began to parch that temp'rate climate; whereat
In either hand the haſt'ning Angel caught
Our ling'ring parents, and to th' eaſtern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as faſt
To the ſubjected plain; then diſappear'd.
They looking back, all th' eaſtern ſide beheld
Of Paradiſe, ſo late their happy ſeat,
Wav'd

635. *And vapor*] Hor. Epod. III. 15.

Nec tantus unquam ſiderum inſedit *vapor*
Siticuloſæ Apuliæ.

637. *In either hand* &c.] The author helped his invention in the following paſſage, by reflecting on the behaviour of the Angel, who in holy Writ has the conduct of Lot and his family. The circumſtances drawn from that relation are very gracefully made uſe of on this occaſion. *Addiſon.*

641. *They looking back*, &c.] The ſcene which our firſt parents are ſurpriſed with, upon their looking back on Paradiſe wonderfully ſtrikes the reader's imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the tears they ſhed on that occaſion. *Addiſon.*

643. *Wav'd over by that flaming brand,*] Milton had call'd it a *ſword* before, XI. 120.

—and of a *ſword* the flame,

and XII. 633.

The brandiſh'd *ſword* of God before them blaz'd;

and *brand* here does not ſignify what we commonly mean by it, but a *ſword*, as it is uſed in Spenſer. Faery Queen, B. I. Cant. 3. St. 3.

With thrilling point of deadly iron *brand*:

And again, B. 5. Cant. 1. St. 9.

Which ſteely *brand*—Chryſaor it was hight,
Chryſaor, that all other ſwords excell'd:

And again, B. 5. Cant. 9. St. 30.

But at her feet her ſword was likewiſe laid,
Whoſe long reſt ruſted the bright ſteely *brand*.

And ſo Fairfax likewiſe uſes the word in his tranſlation of Taſſo, Cant. VII. St. 72.

Then from his ſide he took his noble *brand*,
And giving it to Raimond, thus he ſpake;
This is the ſword &c.

and in ſeveral other places. And we meet alſo with the word in ſo late a perform-

Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms:
Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them
soon;
The world was all before them, where to chooſe
Their place of reſt, and Providence their guide:
They hand in hand, with wand'ring ſteps and ſlow,
Through Eden took their ſolitary way.

performance as Mr. Pope's tranſlation of the Iliad, B. 5. ver. 105.

On his broad ſhoulder fell the forceful *brand*,
Thence glancing downward lopt his holy hand,
Which ſtain'd with ſacred blood the bluſhing ſand.

Brando in Italian too ſignifies a ſword. And the reaſon of this denomination Junius derives from hence, becauſe men fought with burnt ſtakes and fire-brands, before arms were invented.

Direxere acies: non jam certamine agreſti,
Stipitibus duris agitur, ſudibuſve præuſtis;
Sed ferro ancipiti decernitur.
Virg. Æn. VII. 523.

648. *They hand in hand, with wand'ring ſteps and ſlow,*
Through Eden took their ſolitary way.] If I might preſume to offer at the ſmalleſt alteration in this divine work, I ſhould think the poem would end better with the foregoing paſſage, than with the two verſes here quoted. Theſe two verſes, though they have their beauty, fall very much below the foregoing paſſage, and renew in the mind of the reader that anguiſh which was pretty well laid by that conſideration.

The world was all before them, where to chooſe.
Their place of reſt, and Providence their guide. *Addiſon.*

If I might preſume, ſays an ingenious and celebrated writer, *to offer at the ſmalleſt alteration in this divine work.* If to make one ſmall alteration appear'd to be ſo *preſumptuous*; what cenſure muſt I expect to incur, who have preſum'd to make ſo many? But *jacta eſt alea*, and *Non injuſſa cecini:*

—— Παρ' εμοιγε και αλλοι
Οι κε μι τιμησουσι μηλισα δε μηδεα Ζευς.

The gentleman would eject theſe two laſt lines of the book, and cloſe it with the verſe before. He ſeems to have been induc'd to this by a miſtake of the printer, *They hand in hand;*

hand; which reading does indeed make the laſt diſtich ſeem looſe, unconnected, and abſcinded from the reſt. But the author gave it *Then hand in hand:* which continues the prior ſentence,

Some natural tears they dropt,
but wip'd them ſoon;
Then hand in hand.

Nor can theſe two verſes poſſibly be ſpar'd from the work; for without them Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and ſuburbane of Paradiſe, in the very view of the *dreadful faces.*

Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque
Trojæ
Numina magna Deûm.

They muſt therefore be diſmiſs'd out of Eden, to live thenceforward in ſome other part of the world. And yet this diſtich, as the gentleman well judges, *falls very much below the foregoing paſſage.* It contradicts the poet's own ſcheme; nor is the diction unexceptionable. He tells us before, That Adam, upon hearing Michael's predictions, was even *ſurcharged with joy*, ver. 372; was *replete with joy and wonder*, ver. 468; was in doubt, whether he ſhould *repent of* or *rejoice in his fall*, ver. 475; was *in great peace of thought*, ver. 558; and Eve herſelf *not ſad*, but *full of conſolation*, ver. 620. Why then does this diſtich diſmiſs our firſt parents in anguiſh, and the reader in melancholy? And how can the expreſſion be juſtified, *with wand'ring ſteps and ſlow?* Why *wand'ring?* Erratic ſteps? Very improper: when in the line before, they were *guided by providence.* And why *ſlow?* when even Eve profeſs'd her readineſs and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614;

——but now lead on;
In me is no delay.

And why *their ſolitary way?* All words to repreſent a ſorrowful parting? when even their former walks in Paradiſe were as ſolitary, as their way now; there being no body beſides them two both here and there. Shall I therefore, after ſo many prior preſumptions, preſume at laſt to offer a diſtich, as cloſe as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his ſcheme?

Then hand in hand with *ſocial*
ſteps their way
Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd.* Bentley.

As the poem cloſes with theſe two verſes, ſo Dr. Bentley finiſhes his labor with remarks upon them. He obſerves that Mr. Addiſon declar'd for ejecting them both out of the poem; and ſuppoſes him to have been induc'd to this by a miſtake of the printer. *They hand in hand:* which reading (the Doctor thinks) makes the laſt diſtich ſeem looſe, unconnected, and abſcinded from the reſt. But Mr. Addiſon was too good a judge of Milton's way of writing, to eject them upon that account only. He gave us another reaſon for his readineſs to part with them, and ſaid that they renew in the mind of the reader that anguiſh, which was pretty well laid by the conſideration of the two foregoing verſes But it has been ſaid more juſtly by another gentleman (who ſeems well qualified to give a judgment in the caſe) that *conſidering the moral and chief deſign of this poem, Terror is the laſt paſſion*

ſion to be left upon the mind of the reader. Eſſay on Pope's Odyſſey, Part 2. p. 89. However this be, the Doctor's reaſon for keeping theſe two verſes is extraordinary: he ſays that, unleſs they are kept, Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and ſuburbane of Paradiſe, in the very view of the *dreadful faces:* and he adds that they muſt therefore be diſmiſs'd *out of Eden*, to live thenceforward in ſome other part of the world. And yet both in the common reading, and in the Doctor's too, they are left in *Eden*, only taking their way *through* it. But this by the by. Let us ſee how the Doctor would mend the matter; and then I will give my objections to his reading, and afterwards anſwer his objections to Milton's. He propoſes to read thus,

Then hand in hand with *ſocial* ſteps their way
Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd.*

To this reading we may object, that the verb wants the word *they* before it; for it is too far to fetch it from ver. 645, when two verſes of a quite different conſtruction, are inſerted between. Again, *chear'd with comfort* ſeems tautologous, for *comfort* is imply'd in *chear'd*, without its being mention'd. Laſtly, if they went *hand in hand*, there is no need to tell us, that their ſteps were *ſocial*; they could not be otherwiſe. So much for the Doctor's reading. We are now to conſider the objections which the Doctor makes to the preſent reading. It contradicts (ſays he) the poet's own ſcheme, and the diction is not unexceptionable. With regard to the diction, he aſks, Why were the ſteps *wand'ring* ones, when *Providence was their guide?* But it might be their *guide*, without pointing out to them which way they ſhould take at every ſtep: The words *Providence their guide* ſignify, that now ſince Michael, who had hitherto conducted them by the hand, was departed from them, they had no guide to their ſteps, only the general guidance of Providence to keep them ſafe and unhurt. Eve (it is plain) expected that her ſteps would be *wand'ring* ones, when upon being told that ſhe was to leave Paradiſe, ſhe breaks out into theſe words, XI. 282.

How ſhall I part? and whither *wander* down
Into a lower world?

Again the Doctor aſks, Why *ſlow* ſteps; when Eve profeſs'd her readineſs and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614? But that readineſs was not an abſolute one, it was a chooſing rather to go than to ſtay behind there without Adam, ver. 615, &c. In that view ſhe was ready to go: but in the view of leaving the delights of Paradiſe, they were both backward and even *linger'd*, ver. 638. Their ſteps therefore were *ſlow*. And why (ſays the Doctor) is their way call'd *ſolitary*, when their walks in Paradiſe were as ſolitary as their way now, there being no body beſides them two both here and there? It may be anſwer'd, that their way was *ſolitary*, not in regard to any companions, whom they had met with elſewhere; but becauſe they were here to meet with no objects of any kind that they were acquainted with: Nothing here was *familiar to their eyes*, and (as Adam, then in Paradiſe, well expreſſes it in XI. 305.)

—all

——all places elſe
Inhoſpitable appear, and *deſolate*
Nor knowing us, nor known.

[And may we not by *ſolitary* underſtand farther their being now left by the Angel?] The laſt, but the main objection which the Doctor makes, is that this diſtich contradicts the poet's own ſcheme. To ſupport this charge, he has referr'd us to half a dozen places of this twelfth book, where Adam and Eve are ſpoken of, as having *joy, peace, and conſolation* &c; and from thence he concludes that this diſtich ought not to diſmiſs our firſt parents in anguiſh, and the reader in melancholy. But the *joy, peace,* and *conſolation* ſpoken of in thoſe paſſages are repreſented always as ariſing in our firſt parents from a view of ſome future good, chiefly of the Meſſiah. The thought of leaving Paradiſe (notwithſtanding any other comfort that they had) was all along a *ſorrowful* one to them. Upon this account Eve *fell aſleep wearied with ſorrow and diſtreſs of heart*, ver. 613. Both Adam and Eve *linger'd* at their quitting Paradiſe, ver. 638, and they *dropt ſome natural tears* on that occaſion, ver. 645. In this view the Arch-Angel, ver. 603, recommends to our firſt parents that they ſhould live *unanimous, though ſad with cauſe for evils paſt.* And for a plainer proof that the ſcheme of the poem was to diſmiſs them not without *ſorrow*, the poet in XI. 117. puts theſe words into God's mouth, as his inſtruction to Michael,

So ſend them forth, though *ſorrowing*, yet in peace. *Pearce.*

Theſe two laſt verſes have occaſion'd much trouble to the critics, ſome being for rejecting, others for altering, and others again for tranſpoſing them: but the propriety of the two lines, and the deſign of the author are fully explained and vindicated in the excellent note of Dr. Pearce. And certainly there is no more neceſſity that an epic poem ſhould conclude happily, than there is that a tragedy ſhould conclude unhappily. There are inſtances of ſeveral tragedies ending happily; and with as good reaſon an epic poem may terminate fortunately or unfortunately, as the nature of the ſubject requires: and the ſubject of *Paradiſe Loſt* plainly requires ſomething of a ſorrowful parting, and was intended no doubt for terror as well as pity, to inſpire us with the fear of God as well as with commiſeration of Man. All therefore that we ſhall add is to deſire the reader to obſerve the beauty of the numbers, the heavy dragging of the firſt line, which cannot be pronounc'd but ſlowly, and with ſeveral pauſes.

They | hand in hand, | with
wand'ring ſteps | and ſlow, |

and then the quicker flow of the laſt verſe with only the uſual pauſe in the middle,

Through Eden took their ſolitary
way;

as if our parents had moved heavily at firſt, being loath to leave their delightful Paradiſe, and afterwards mended their pace, when they were at a little diſtance. At leaſt this is the idea that the numbers convey; and as many volumes might be compos'd upon the ſtructure of Milton's verſes, and the collocation of his words, as Erythræus and other critics have written upon Virgil. We

have

have taken notice of ſeveral beauties of this kind in the courſe of theſe remarks, and particularly of the varying of the pauſes, which is the life and ſoul of all verſification in all languages. It is this chiefly which makes Virgil's verſe better than Ovid's, and Milton's ſuperior to any other Engliſh poet's: and it is for want of this chiefly that the French heroic verſe has never, and can never come up to the Engliſh. There is no variety of numbers, but the ſame pauſe is preſerved exactly in the ſame place in every line for ten or ten thouſand lines together: and ſuch a perpetual repetition of the ſame pauſe, ſuch an eternal ſameneſs of verſe muſt make any poetry tedious, and either offend the ear of the reader, or lull him aſleep: and this in the opinion of ſeveral French writers themſelves. There can be no good poetry without muſic, and there can be no muſic without variety.

The number of books in Paradiſe Loſt is equal to thoſe of the Æneid. Our author in his firſt edition had divided his poem into ten books, but afterwards broke the ſeventh and the tenth each of them into two different books, by the help of ſome ſmall additions. This ſecond diviſion was made with great judgment, as any one may ſee, who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the ſake of ſuch a chimerical beauty as that of reſembling Virgil in this particular, but for the more juſt and regular diſpoſition of this great work. Thoſe who have read Boſſu, and many of the critics who have written ſince his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular moral which is inculcated in Paradiſe Loſt. Though I can by no means think, with the laſt mention'd French author, that an epic writer firſt of all pitches upon a certain moral, as the ground-work and foundation of his poem, and afterwards finds out a ſtory to it: I am however of opinion, that no juſt heroic poem ever was or can be made, from whence one great moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in Milton, is the moſt univerſal and moſt uſeful that can be imagin'd; it is in ſhort this, *That obedience to the will of God, makes men happy, and that diſobedience makes them miſerable.* This is viſibly the moral of the principal fable, which turns upon Adam and Eve, who continued in Paradiſe, while they kept the command that was given them, and were driven out of it as ſoon as they had tranſgreſſed. This is likewiſe the moral of the principal epiſode, which ſhows us how an innumerable multitude of Angels fell from their ſtate of bliſs, and were caſt into Hell upon their diſobedience. Beſides this great moral, which may be looked upon as the ſoul of the fable, there are an infinity of under morals, which are to be drawn from the ſeveral parts of the poem, and which make this work more uſeful and inſtructive than any other poem in any language. Thoſe who have criticiſed on the Odyſſey, the Iliad, and Æneid, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of months and days contained in the action of each of thoſe poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examin this particular in Milton, he will find that from Adam's firſt appearance in the fourth book, to his expulſion

from

from Paradiſe in the twelfth, the author reckons ten days. As for that part of the action which is deſcribed in the three firſt books, as it does not paſs within the regions of nature, I have before obſerved that it is not ſubject to any calculations of time. I have now finiſhed my obſervations on a work, which does an honour to the Engliſh nation. I have taken a general view of it under theſe four heads, the fable, the characters, the ſentiments, and the language, and made each of them the ſubject of a particular paper. I have in the next place ſpoken of the cenſures which our author may incur under each of theſe heads, which I have confined to two papers, though I might have inlarged the number, if I had been diſpoſed to dwell on ſo ungrateful a ſubject. I believe however that the ſevereſt reader will not find any little fault in heroic poetry, which this author has fallen into, that does not come under one of thoſe heads, among which I have diſtributed his ſeveral blemiſhes. After having thus treated at large of Paradiſe Loſt, I could not think it ſufficient to have celebrated this poem in the whole, without deſcending to particulars. I have therefore beſtowed a paper upon each book, and endevored not only to prove that the poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular beauties, and to determin wherein they conſiſt. I have endevored to ſhow how ſome paſſages are beautiful by being ſublime, others by being ſoft, others by being natural; which of them are recommended by the paſſion, which by the moral, which by the ſentiment, and which by the expreſſion. I have likewiſe endevored to ſhow how the genius of the poet ſhines by a happy invention, a diſtant alluſion, or a judicious imitation; how he has copied or improved Homer and Virgil, and raiſed his own imaginations by the uſe which he has made of ſeveral poetical paſſages in Scripture. I might have inſerted alſo ſeveral paſſages of Taſſo, which our author has imitated; but as I do not look upon Taſſo to be a ſufficient voucher, I would not perplex my reader with ſuch quotations, as might do more honor to the Italian than the Engliſh poet. In ſhort I have endevor'd to particularize thoſe innumerable kinds of beauty, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are eſſential to poetry, and which may be met with in the works of this great author. Had I thought at my firſt engaging in this deſign, that it would have led me to ſo great a length, I believe I ſhould never have enter'd upon it; but the kind reception which it has met with among thoſe whoſe judgments I have a value for, as well as the uncommon demands which my bookſeller tells me have been made for theſe particular diſcourſes, gives me no reaſon to repent of the pains I have been at in compoſing them.

Addiſon.

And thus have we finiſh'd our collections and remarks on this divine poem. The reader probably may have obſerved that theſe two laſt books fall ſhort of the ſublimity and majeſty of the reſt: and ſo likewiſe do the two laſt books of the Iliad, and for the ſame reaſon, becauſe the ſubject is of a different kind from that of the foregoing ones. The ſubject of theſe two laſt books of the Paradiſe Loſt is hiſtory rather than poetry.

poetry. However we may ſtill diſcover the ſame great genius, and there are intermix'd as many ornaments and graces of poetry, as the nature of the ſubject, and the author's fidelity and ſtrict attachment to the truth of Scripture hiſtory, and the reduction of ſo many and ſuch various events into ſo narrow a compaſs, would admit. It is the ſame ocean, but not at its higheſt tide; it is now ebbing and retreating. It is the ſame ſun, but not in its full blaze of meridian glory; it now ſhines with a gentler ray as it is ſetting. Throughout the whole the author appears to have been a moſt critical reader and a moſt paſſionate admirer of holy Scripture. He is indebted to Scripture infinitely more than to Homer and Virgil and all other books whatever. Not only his principal fable, but all his epiſodes are founded upon Scripture. The Scripture hath not only furniſh'd him with the nobleſt hints, rais'd his thoughts and fir'd his imagination; but hath alſo very much enrich'd his language, given a certain ſolemnity and majeſty to his diction, and ſupplied him with many of his choiceſt happieſt expreſſions. Let men therefore learn from this inſtance to reverence thoſe ſacred Writings. If any man can pretend to deride or deſpiſe them, it muſt be ſaid of him at leaſt, that he has a taſte and genius the moſt different from Milton's that can be imagin'd. Whoever has any true taſte and genius, we are confident will eſteem this poem the beſt of modern productions, and the Scriptures the beſt of all ancient ones.

THE END.

POST-

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POSTSCRIPT.

A VERY extraordinary attempt having been lately made to undermine and deſtroy the reputation of Milton as a poet, it may be proper for the ſake of truth, and for the ſake of a favorite author, to give a ſhort hiſtory of it, here in the concluſion of this work. Soon after I had publiſhed my propoſals for printing a new edition of the Paradiſe Loſt with notes of various authors, Mr. William Lauder, a Scotchman, came to me, exclaming horribly of John Milton, and inveighing moſt bitterly againſt him for the worſt and greateſt of all plagiaries; he could prove that he had borrowed the ſubſtance of whole books together, and there was ſcarcely a ſingle thought or ſentiment in his poem which he had not ſtolen from ſome author or other, notwithſtanding his vain pretence to *things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime*. And then in confirmation of his charge, he recited a long roll of Scotch, German, and Dutch poets, and affirmed that he had brought the books along with him which were his vouchers, and appealed particularly to Ramſay a Scotch Divine, and to Maſenius, a German Jeſuit: but upon producing his authors he could not find Maſenius, he had dropt the book ſomewhere or other in the way, and expreſſed much ſurpriſe and concern for the loſs of it; Ramſay he left with me, and my opinion of Milton's imitations of that author I have given in a note on IX. 513. I knew very well that Milton was an univerſal ſcholar, as famous for his great reading as for the extent of his genius; and I thought it not improbable, that Mr. Lauder, having the good for-

tune to meet with theſe German and Dutch poems might have traced out there ſome of his imitations and alluſions, which had eſcaped the reſearches of others: and it was my advice to him then, and as often as I had opportunities of ſeeing him afterwards, that if he had really made ſuch notable diſcoveries as he boaſted, he would do well to communicate them to the public; an ingenious countryman of his had publiſhed an *Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, and he would equally deſerve the thanks of the learned world by writing an *Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Moderns*; but at the ſame time I recommended to him a little more modeſty and decency, and urged all the arguments I could to perſuade him to treat Milton's name with more reſpect, and not to *write* of him with the ſame acrimony and rancor with which he *ſpoke* of him; it would weaken his cauſe inſtead of ſtrengthening it, and would hurt himſelf more than Milton in the opinion of all candid readers. He began with publiſhing ſome ſpecimens of his work in a monthly pamphlet intitled *the Gentleman's Magazine:* and I was ſorry to find that he had no better regarded my advice in his manner of writing; for his papers were much in the ſame ſtrain and ſpirit as his converſation, his aſſertions ſtrong, and his proofs weak. However to do him juſtice, ſeveral of the quotations which he had made from *Adamus Exul*, a tragedy of the famous Hugo Grotius, I thought ſo exactly parallel to ſeveral paſſages in the Paradiſe Loſt, that I readily adopted them, and inſerted them without ſcruple in my notes, eſteeming it no reproach to Milton, but rather a commendation of his taſte and judgment, to have gather'd

ther'd ſo many of the choiceſt flowers in the gardens of others, and to have tranſplanted them with improvements into his own. At length, after I had publiſhed my firſt edition of the Paradiſe Loſt, came forth Mr. Lauder's *Eſſay on Milton's uſe and imitation of the Moderns:* but except the quotations from Grotius, which I had already inſerted in my firſt edition, I found in Mr. Lauder's authors not above half a dozen paſſages, which I thought worth transferring into my ſecond edition; not but he had produced more paſſages ſomewhat reſembling others in Milton; but when a ſimilitude of thought or expreſſion, of ſentiment or deſcription, occurs in Scripture and we will ſay in Staphorſtius, in Virgil and perhaps in Alexander Roſs, in Arioſto, and perhaps in Taubmannus, I ſhould rather conclude that Milton had borrowed from the former whom he is certainly known to have read, than from the latter whom it is very uncertain whether he had ever read or not. We know that he had often drawn and delighted to draw from the pure fountain; and why then ſhould we believe that he choſe rather to drink of the ſtream after it was polluted by the traſh and filth of others? We know that he had thoroughly ſtudied, and was perfectly acquainted with the graces and beauties of the great originals; and why then ſhould we think that he was only the ſervile copier of perhaps a bad copy, which perhaps he had never ſeen? This was all the uſe that I could poſſibly make of Mr. Lauder's *Eſſay*, and the moſt favourable opinion that I could entertain of him and his performance, admitting all that he had alledged to be true and genuin, was that the *malice* of his *charge* was much greater than the *validity*

of his *proofs*: but what now if he ſhould be found to have ſuborned falſe evidence in ſupport of his accuſation, and inſtead of convicting Milton of *plagiariſm*, to have fixed an eternal brand of *forgery* upon himſelf? It was certainly very artful in Mr. Lauder to derive ſo many of his authorities from books, which are ſo little known, and copies of which are ſo very ſcarce, that the principal of them cannot be found in the beſt and greateſt libraries: and this ſtratagem had a double uſe, for at the ſame time that it ſerved to diſplay his uncommon reading, it was alſo the means of his eluding the ſearch of the moſt curious of his readers. I ſhould myſelf have examined his authorities, if I could have procured the books; but for want of them I took it for granted, and thought I might ſafely take it for granted, that the paſſages which he had quoted from ſuch and ſuch authors were really in thoſe authors; and could not have harboured a ſuſpicion, that a man of any learning and ingenuity, for the ſake of *defaming the venerable dead*, could have been guilty of ſuch monſtrous forgeries, as have ſince been proved upon him, and as he himſelf indeed has confeſſed. For a learned and ingenious Gentleman being at Oxford the laſt ſummer had the curioſity to ſearch in the Bodleian library for ſome of theſe German and Dutch poets, who according to Mr. Lauder held out the lighted torch to Milton: and after ſearching in vain for Maſenius and the Adamus Exul of Grotius, he was ſo fortunate as to find the ſame edidition, as Mr. Lauder had quoted, of Staphorſtius's Latin poem intitled *Triumphis pacis* on the concluſion of the peace between the States of Holland and the Commonwealth of England in 1655. It appears to

be

be a prolix, as well as a wretched dull compoſition, and ſuch as could not poſſibly have afforded any aſſiſtance to Milton: and it being one of Mr. Lauder's artifices in his quotations never to refer to particular places or pages for the better direction of his readers, the Gentleman had the trouble of turning over the whole poem, and of examining page after page, before he could find the paſſages which Mr. Lauder had quoted: and upon comparing his quotations with the printed copy, he diſcovered to his ſurpriſe, that Mr. Lauder had taken the liberty of omitting and inſerting lines at pleaſure, to make out a likeneſs; and particularly that the eight lines on marriage have no exiſtence in Staphorſtius, but were interpolated by Mr. Lauder; and well indeed might they bear a ſtrong reſemblance to Milton, Mr. Lauder having had the aſſurance to tranſcribe them word for word from the Latin tranſlation of the Paradiſe Loſt by Hog or Hogæus printed in 1690. This diſcovery incited the Gentleman to make farther reſearches, and farther reſearches produced more diſcoveries, which the Gentleman has fairly laid before the world in an excellent pamphlet lately publiſhed and intitled *Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiariſm brought againſt him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himſelf convicted of ſeveral forgeries and groſs impoſitions on the public. In a letter humbly addreſſed to the Right Honorable the Earl of Bath. By John Douglaſs, M. A. Rector of Eton Conſtantine, Salop. Printed for A. Millar in the Strand.* Such a vindication of Milton muſt be pleaſing to every Briton, who hath any love for poetry, or any regard for the honor of his country: and if Scotland ſuffers the mortification of ſeeing *one*

of her ſons guilty of bringing an injurious ſlander upon our country, ſhe enjoys the ſatisfaction likewiſe of ſeeing *another* deſerving of the higheſt commendation for refuting the calumny and wiping the ſtain away: and there cannot be a better recommendation of the vindication, nor a ſtronger proof of its being well written, than its having brought the Offender himſelf to a proper ſenſe and acknowledgment of his various frauds and impoſitions upon the public. For Mr. Lauder, looking upon me, I ſuppoſe, as a perſon peculiarly intereſted in the fame and reputation of Milton, has been with with me to plead guilty to the charge which Mr. Douglaſs has brought againſt him, and to beg pardon of me and of the public. And in the ſorrow and ſincerity of his heart he has made ſome farther confeſſions to me. For I told him plainly, that his forgeries had been detected in ſo many inſtances, that one could not help ſuſpecting him in all the reſt, and particularly in Maſenius and Grotius, whoſe books for ought that appear'd no body in England had ſeen beſides himſelf: I thought that the merit of his *Eſſay* conſiſted chiefly in his quotations from the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius, which were more for his purpoſe than any others: but he had ſaid himſelf (Eſſay, p. 49.) that he could not procure a printed copy of that tragedy either in Britain or Holland, and had only a tranſcript of it from Abraham Gronovius, keeper of the public library at Leyden: and I could aſſure him, that an extract of thoſe paſſages was ſent over to a gentleman in Holland, who was employ'd to inquire of Gronovius whether they were genuin or not; and therefore he might as well confeſs the truth himſelf, which would be known in a little time without his confeſſion.

confeſſion. He acknowledged that he had himſelf compoſed ſeveral verſes, which he had quoted as from Grotius. I inquired particularly after thoſe verſes ſo nearly reſembling that paſſage in Milton,

Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven:

and he confeſſed that he had made thoſe very verſes, and indeed all which had any particular likeneſs to any thing in Milton. I expreſſed my ſuſpicions likewiſe about Maſenius, eſpecially as he had loſt the book ſo long ago, and as Mr. Douglaſs had proved that one of his quotations from Maſenius, conſiſting of eight lines, was taken literally from the Latin tranſlation of the Paradiſe Loſt by Hogæus; and it was not probable that the ſame eight lines ſhould be in Hogæus, and Maſenius too. He owned honeſtly that they were not, nor ſeveral things which he had aſcribed to Maſenius. I aſked particularly whether the word *Pandæmonium* was in Maſenius, for I had all along ſuſpected that it was not, *Concilium inferorum ſive Pandæmonium:* and he acknowledged that it was an interpolation of his own. I queſtion'd whether Maſenius had enumerated the four blind poets,

Tireſias, Phineus, Thamyriſque, et magnus Homerus:

and he anſwered that there was ſome foundation for that; Maſenius had reckoned up *three* of them, and he had inſerted the *fourth:* and commonly I found, that when he had cauſed any thing to be printed in capital letters or Italic characters, as worthy of the peculiar notice and obſervation of his readers, that

was interpolated and forged by himſelf. Well might Mr. Lauder ſelect this verſe for the motto to his book,

Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime;

for though there have been frequent forgeries in the litterary world, yet ſuch as theſe I believe not only were never practiced before, but were never attempted: but

——— aliter non fit, Avite, liber;

he had recourſe to theſe artifices, as he himſelf confeſſes, becauſe he plainly perceived that he could not otherwiſe have proved his point to the ſatisfaction of any body. But I forbear to aggravate matters. I would not inflame the reader's indignation. The man has already been ſufficiently expoſed, and expreſſes ſorrow for his offenſe, and promiſes to make a public recantation, acknowledging his crimes, and begging pardon of the world: and tho' he has entirely ruined his character as a man of probity; yet it muſt be ſaid for him, that he has given ſome proofs of his abilities, as a man of learning.

THOMAS NEWTON.

December 5,
1750.

N. B. Mr. Lauder has ſince publicly confeſſed the following forgeries and interpolations among others of leſſer conſequence.

I.

The word *Pandæmonium* interpolated in Maſenius.

II.

Infernique canes populantur cuncta creata,

a line interpolated in Maſenius, to anſwer this of Milton, X. 616.

See with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance
To waſte and havoc yonder world.

III.

Quadrupedi pugnat quadrupes, volucrique volucris,
Et piſcis cum piſce ferox hoſtilibus armis
Prælia ſæva gerit: jam priſtina pabula ſpernunt,
Jam tondere piget viridantes gramine campos:
Alterum et alterius vivunt animalia letho:
Priſca nec in gentem humanam reverentia durat;
Sed fugiunt, vel ſi ſteterent fera bella minantur
Fronte truce, torvoſque oculos jaculantur in illam.

quoted as from Maſenius, but really taken from Hog's tranſlation of Parad. Loſt. X. 710 &c.

IV.

IV.

Vatibus antiquis numerantur lumine caſſis
Tireſias, Phineus, Thamyriſque, et magnus Homerus.

Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides,
And Tireſias and Phineus prophets old. III. 35.

The above paſſage ſtands thus in Maſenius, in one line,

Tireſias cæcus, Thamyriſque, et Daphnis, Homerus.

V.

Perſimilis turri præcelſæ, aut montibus altis
Antiquæ cedro, nudatæ frondis honore:

interpolated in Maſenius, to anſwer theſe paſſages in Milton.

Stood like a tow'r. I. 591. and 612.

——as when Heaven's fire
Hath ſcath'd the foreſt oaks, or mountain pines.

VI.

——Orcus et pedibus tremit

interpolated in Grotius to anſwer Milton's

——Hell trembled as he ſtrode. II. 676.

VII.

VII.

Grotius interpolated,

——Nam, me judice,
Regnare dignum eſt ambitu, etſi in Tartaro:
Alto præeſſe Tartaro ſiquidem juvat,
Cælis quam in ipſis ſervi obire munia.

Milton I. 261. ——and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.

VIII.

An interpolation in Grotius,

Innominata quæque nominibus ſuis,
Libet vocare propriis vocabulis.

Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd. XII. 140.

IX.

Another interpolation in Grotius,

Cœli ſolique ſoboles! ——
Ofspring of Heaven and Earth! IX. 273.

X.

X.

Carbunculorum luce certantes rubra:

interpolated in Grotius to anſwer

—— carbuncle his eyes. IX. 500

XI.

Grotius interpolated, ——

Rationis etenim omnino paritas exigit,
Ego bruta quando beſtia evaſi loquens;
Ex homine qualis ante, te fieri Deam.

Milton IX. 710.

That ye ſhall be as Gods, ſince I as Man,
Internal Man, is but proportion meet;
I of brute human, ye of human Gods.

XII.

Grotius interpolated,

Tibi nam relicta, quo petam, aut ævum exigam?

Milton X. 921. —— forlorn of thee,
Whither ſhall I betake me, where ſubſiſt?

XIII.

XIII.

Interpolation in Grotius,

Tu namque ſoli numini contrarius,
Minus es nocivus; aſt ego nocentior,
(Adeoque miſera magis, quippe miſeriæ comes
Orgioque ſcelus eſt, lurida mater mali!)
Deumque læſia ſcelere, teque, Vir, ſimul.

Milton X. 927 —— On me exerciſe not &c.

XIV.

Another,

Quod comedo, poto, gigno, diris ſubjacet.

Milton X. 728.

All that I eat or drink, or ſhall beget,
Is propagated curſe.

XV.

Auſpice, te, fugens alieni ſubcuba lecti
Dira libido hominum tota de gente repulſa eſt;
Ac tantum gregibus pecudum ratione carentum
Imperat, et ſine lege tori furibnnda vagatur.
Auſpice te, quam jura probant, rectumque pium-
que,
Filius atque pater, fraterque innotuit; et quot
Vincula

Vincula vicini ſociarunt ſanguinis, a te
Nominibus didicere ſuam diſtinguere gentem,

This pretended to be a quotation from Staphorſtius, but really taken from Hog's tranſlation of Parad. Loſt, IV. 753.

By thee adult'rous luſt &c.

XVI.

Interpolation in Staphorſtius,

Te primum, et medium, et ſummum, ſed ſine carentem.

Milton V. 165.

Him firſt, him laſt, him midſt, and without end.

XVII.

——Tu, Pſychephone!
Hypocriſis eſto; hoc ſub Franciſci pallio,
Quo tutò tecti ſeſe credunt emori.

The laſt line interpolated in Fox, to beget ſome reſemblance to Milton III. 478.

And they who to be ſure of Paradiſe
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciſcan think to paſs diſguis'd.

XVIII.

XVIII.

Interpolation in Fletcher,

In promptu cauſa eſt: ſupereſt invicta voluntas,
Immortale odium, vindictæ et ſæva cupido.

Milton I. 105. —What though the field be loſt?
All is not loſt; th' unconquerable will
And ſtudy of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to ſubmit or yield.

XIX.

This line in Milton,

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powr's,

is ſaid to be taken from the title-page of Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, Throni, Dominationes, Principatus, Virtutes, Poteſtates. But the words in Heywood's title are thus, Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni, Poteſtates, Angeli, Archangeli, Principatus, Dominationes.

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XVIII.

Interpolation in Fletcher.

In promptu cuncta ego: fugere invicta volantes,
Immortale odium, vindicta et fera cupido.

XIX.

This line in Milton,

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers,

is said to be taken from the title-page of Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, 4to. Dominationes, Principatus, Virtutes, Potestates. But the words in Heywood's title are thus, Seraphim, Cherubim, Thronj, Potestates, Angeli, Archangeli, Principatus, Dominationes.

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